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THE HISTORY OF
NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

Extending from the foundation of the Gupta Empire
to the rise of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal,
(c. A.D. 320-760)

By

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK, M.A., Ph.D., Vidyāvāchaspati.

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To

The Sacred Memory

Of

My Revered Parents.

Preface to the Second Edition

The first edition of this book was published in January, 1934. No printed copy of the book is now available in the market. The first edition of the book was prescribed in certain universities of Northern India for the post-graduate Studies of the Students. Requests come from some educated quarters for preparing and publishing a second revised edition of the work. On account of some physical incapacity due to my old age (I being now 82 years old) I felt difficult to take up a revision of the book. But two of my very esteemed and learned friends and pupils, Dr. B. N. Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D. (London), now Honorary Associate Research Professor, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and Dr. K. K. Das Gupta, M.A., D.Phil., Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University ungrudgingly lent their helping hands and restored my own self-confidence in preparing this revised and somewhat enlarged edition. I have no hesitation in recording here my deep gratitude to both these scholars, without whose kind assistance the book would not have gone through this second edition.

Since the publication of the first edition in 1934, many documents, epigraphic and numismatic, have been discovered in India. So I had to study them to enable myself to undertake this second edition of the book. The new changes made by me occur generally in chapters IV, IX and XI. In Chapter IV of the first edition of this book, I propounded a view that after Skandagupta's death, perhaps there ruled somewhere in Magadha a branch line of the Imperial Guptas through Purugupta. But after the discovery of the Nalanda Seals I have abandoned in this edition my former views and shown that the Guptas headed by Purugupta continued to rule yet for about half a century in an unbroken line of succession. In point I have in this revised edition in Chapter VII drawn also a pointed attention of scholars to the two Introductory verses of chapter VI of the *Harsha-charita*, the historical significance of which is very important for discussing the murder of Rājyavardhana brought about treacherously by Śaśāṅka, the king of Bengal. Again in chapter IX some new additional matters have been introduced and discussed regarding the rulers of the kingdom of Vaṅga-Samataṭa. But a very thorough revision has been made by me for readjusting the contents of chapter XI on the kingdom of Nepal and this chapter in the second edition has somewhat been enlarged. The revision and enlargement of this chapter has been necessitated because of scholars being now in possession of new materials of new history which can be obtained by study of the very important and valuable edition of "the Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta characters" Part I, edited so admirably and in so scholarly a manner, by Dr. Raniero Gnoli from Rome in 1956. I have utilised Dr. Gnoli's book with a grateful heart and inserted in this chapter several new historical facts that I could collect from my study of this treatise of the Italian scholar. In this connection I have also derived some help from D. R. Regmi's recent book, 'Ancient Nepal' (Calcutta, 1960). I have, however, stuck to my own former views as put forth in the first edition of my book on the Nepal chronology resulting from the use of eras and dates in the Nepalese epigraphs.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention here my gratefulness to the proprietors of the "Sambodhi publications, Private Limited, Calcutta" looked after by Sri R. N. Mukherjee, for their kindly bearing all expenses for the publication of this edition of my book. I am also thankful to the Pooran Press, Calcutta, for their executing so neatly the heavy printing work.

69, Ballygunge Gardens,
CALCUTTA-19.
December 12, 1966.

Radhagovinda Basak

Preface to the First Edition

This modest book is an attempt to write a connected history of North-Eastern India during the period falling approximately between 320 A.D. and 760 A.D. Discoveries of new materials of Indian history, specially epigraphic records, during the last quarter of a century throughout which I had the good fortune to work as a student of Indian epigraphy; and the learned contributions of eminent scholars on them in India and outside, have rendered it possible for me to undertake such a connected narrative. In this work I have, to some extent, drawn from some of my own earlier contributions, specially on the Gupta history, and embodied portions of them in some of the chapters. Experience as a Professor of Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages has extremely helped me in offering new interpretation, where deemed necessary, to many words and passages in some of the epigraphic documents studied for gathering materials this work, and this has been indicated at the proper places. The idea of getting this work tested by eminent scholars, as suggested by some friends in superior position in life, encouraged me recently to offer it as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Dacca, so that I may have the satisfaction of knowing from the remarks of my examiners how far my own views on and interpretation of historical facts, expressed clearly or hinted covertly in epigraphic records, and also some of my suggestions for the solution of controversial points, may be placed before the scholarly world. This work was, I am glad to say, approved as a thesis for that degree by my examiners, Professor F. W. Thomas of Oxford and Dr. L. D. Barnett and Mr. J. Allan of the British Museum, London, to whom I am deeply grateful for their kind adjudgment.

In my attempt to construct a history of North-Eastern India during the period under notice, I have mostly based my views on the results obtained from my prolonged study of the original inscriptional documents, though other sources, e.g. numismatic and literary, have also been utilised. It is evident that in a work like this, which largely concerns piecing together the stray and often fragmentary materials obtained here and thre, I am bound to reinvestigate the results of the researches of previous and contemporary workers in the same field and to criticise their views, either for endorsement or rejection, partial of full, or to expound entirely new ones.

The plan of this book, as is evident from the contents and the synchronistic table attached hereto, will show that I have ventured to write in the first four chapters a connected history of the imperial Gupta rule which, although a trodden path, required in my opinion a thorough revision in the light of the new knowledge obtained from such discoveries, as the five Damodarpur copper-plate grants of the Gupta period (already edited by me), the new Baigram (Bogra, more correctly, Dinajpur) copper-plate of the Gupta year 128 (edited and just published by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*), the Dhanaidaha copper-plate (re-deciphered by me) and Mr. K. N. Dikshit's Paharpur copper-plate grant of the same type.

I should acknowledge here that I am fully conscious of my omission to discuss, rightly at page 34 of this book, the important question of Rāmagupta, who is now being thought by some of my Indian colleagues, e.g. the late Professor R. D. Banerji and Professor A. S. Altekar of the Benares Hindu University, as belonging to the imperial Gupta family and as a son and successor of emperor Samudragupta. They think that his reign, though it might have been a short one, intervened between that of his father and his younger brother Chandragupta II. But I regret to note here that Rāmagupta problem is a yet controversial one. It is indeed difficult, with the present stock of our knowledge on the point, to tie up Rāmagupta with the reigning sovereigns of the imperial Gupta dynasty. I felt it unfair to myself to accept Rāmagupta, at the present moment, as a reigning emperor of the Gupta house, chiefly on the evidence of the extracts from an old drama, named *Devīchandraguptaṁ*, which, itself however, has not yet been discovered and published in full. These extracts from the drama have been pointed out by M. Sylvain Lévi as occurring in a newly-discovered treatise on dramaturgy, the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, belonging to a late period of history, in which also Rāmagupta is mentioned simply as a king (*rājā*) without any of titles in vogue in the Gupta period for indicating lordparamountcy, and Dhruvadevī is also styled simply as a *devī* and not a *mahādevī* that she relly was. Want of full conviction in the theory, so far advanced, that Rāmagupta was a ruling Gupta monarch, whose wife Dhruvadevī (alleged to have been offered by this imbecile king to a contemporary Śaka king) was later married by his younger brother, the emperor Chandragupta II himself, by bringing about the death of his elder brother, has led me to omit reference in the main body of my book, to this hitherto unkown figure in Gupta history. We shall have yet to wait for the discovery of new epigraphic and numismatic evidence to corroborate such a theory before it can be accepted as a historical fact. I have not also referred to Kācha as being a number of the imperial Gupta family, although numismatic evidence is clear to ascertain the existence of a person of that name, whose relationship however, either with Samudragupta or his father Chandragupta I, is yet a matter of mere conjecture amongst historians.

The following are some of the chief points in the book to which attention of scholars may here be drawn, viz., (1) my interpretation of the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription and identification of King Chandra mentioned therein with Chandragupta I, and (2) my establishment, from my first decipherment of the peculiar land-sale documents discovered in North Bengal, of the important historical facts, (i) that the entire province of Puṇḍravardhana formed an integral part of the imperial Gupta empire, (ii) that Budhagupta's reign was a long one and also not confined to the western portion of India alone, but included a large part of North-Eastern India, (iii) that the imperial Gupta dynasty continued to rule in full glory at least upto the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. through a succession of three or four more monarchs after Skandagupta, and (iv) that the district officer (*vishayapatis*), under the provincial governors, themselves appointed directly by the imperial Gupta sovereigns, had an excellent administrative machinery at the head-quarters, viz. an Advisory Board representing the various important interests of those days. I may add that I have also dealt with some controversial subjects in Gupta history and tried to offer new suggestions for their solution which will be evident to the readers at their proper places in the book.

Then with regard to the next few chapters in which I have dealt with the post-Gupta kingdoms in North-Eatern India, limiting myself to the rise of the Pāla kings of Bengal, it may be submitted that a new solution has been offered to the most vexed question of the chronology of the Śailodbhava dynasty of Orissa and that of the early Lichchhavi kings of Nepal. In trying to establish my own theories on these two important chronologies I was compelled to refute the views of some of the most eminent writers on the subject with due deference to their vast erudition. A word of apology is necessary here for the lengthy treatment of the early history of Nepal in Chapter XI. I have felt that the history of this most interesting country was long neglected in India and excepting the admirable treatise of that great savant, M. Sylvain Lévi, no detailed narrative of the early history of Nepal, so far as I know, has been given in any work written in English (M. Sylvain Lévi's book, the *Le Népal*, being written in French). I have attempted to construct a connected history of this kingdom in its very early days, by culling materials from the vast mass of its epigraphic records. I only regret that the summary of some these records, which I have laid down in the body of the chapter itself, has not separately formed an appendix to it.

I have refrained from dealing separately and in detail with the history of king Harshavardhana, as the geographical area adopted for treatment in this work precludes its possibility, and it is already too well-known a topic. But most of the chief events in that monarch's life and career have been mentioned in the chapters on Śaśāṅka the king of Bengal and the Kāmarūpa kings. Other minor contributions to the knowledge of historical truths may be marked here and there in the different chapters, e.g. the identification of king Susthitaravarman, mentioned in the Apshad inscription of Ādityasena, with the Kāmarūpa king of that name and not with any imaginary king of the same name belonging to the Maukhari dynasty, and also the identification of king Devavarman of the Chinese records with King Devagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. In Chapter VII I have endeavoured to adjudge properly the career of King Śaśāṅka and incorporate some new facts about him as obtained from a study of the Buddhist treatise, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. The chapter on the kingdom of Vaṅga-Samataṭa is entirely a new addition to the early history of Bengal written in a connected form.

I quite feel that I could neither make the book solely a a political history, nor a cultural one, but to some extent it may be taken as a blending of both. It was really not possible for me to treat the materials at my disposal for the particular period limited in this work, under separate headings, such as political, social, economic, religious, literary or otherwise, and to discuss fully all the cultural aspects of the people of North-Eastern India.

It may be stated here that the system of transliteration of Sanskrit and Prakrit words employed in this work is the one mostly adopted in the *Epigraphia Indica.* The abbreviations used in the references are too obvious to require any explanation.

In conclusion, I wish to record here a fact that the first inspiration and encouragement for attempting to undertake such works on ancient Indian history came to us from the from the illustrious trio, who founded the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi (in the old *Puṇḍravardhanabhukti*), I mean, my friend Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighāpātīya, M.A., M.L.C., the late Mr. Akshaya Kumar Maitra, B.L., C.I.E., and Rai Rama Prasad Chanda Bahadur, B.A., to whom I take this opportunity to pay a tribute of high respects. My very hearty thanks are due to Mr. G. H. Langley, M.A., Vice-chancellor, Dacca University, and my erstwhile colleague in that university, Dr. S. K. De, M.A., D.Litt., for the great interest they have taken in this work which, on account of their very insistent exhortation, was submitted as a thesis for the doctorate of the Dacca University. Another friend who cannot be forgotten in this connection is Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, M.A., who never failed to keep me cheerful by words of encouragement during moments of despair while gathering together stray materials for this history. But the gratitude under which my friend and colleague, Dr. Basanta Kumar Roy, M.A., Ph.D., of the

Department of English of the Dacca University, has placed me is really very deep, as he ungrudgingly read through the whole manuscript and suggested corrections and improvements in the language which have been almost unhesitatingly adopted by me. Finally, I cannot let the opportunity here pass without making a thankful reference to my pupil, Mr. Sures Chandra Das M.A., for his undertaking the responsibility of printing this book in his press. I am sorry that despite all attempts to avoid typographical errors, some have crept in and I beg to draw the kind attention of my readers to the short list of corrections at the end of the book.

CALCUTTA,
December 12, 1933.

Radhagovinda Basak

Radhagovinda Basak

A renowned historian and epigraphist, Dr. Radhagovinda Basak was formerly Head of the Department of Sanskrit at the Presidency College, Calcutta, and a Lecturer in the Departments of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian History and Culture at the University of Calcutta as well. He also worked as a Lecturer in Sanskrit at the University of Dacca in the early part of his life. He is at present Chairman, Board of Editors for publication of Research books and bulletins of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. The same College has honoured him with the title 'Vidyāvāchaspati'. He is also a receipent of President's Award of 'Certificate of Honour in Sanskrit'.

An eminent writer on Indological subjects, Dr. Radhagovinda Basak has to his credit a number of books which include : *Aśokan Inscriptions* and *Indian Life as Revealed in the Buddhist Sanskrit work, Mahāvastu-Avadāna.* He has edited and rendered into Bengali *Rāmacharitam* and *Gāthā-Saptaśatī* and published the Bengali version of the entire *Arthaśāstra.* He has edited the *Rāvaṇavaho* or the *Setubandha*, with a newly discovered Sanskrit commentary. The *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, edited and translated into Bengali by Dr. Basak, has been published by the Sanskrit College.

CONTENTS

Page

Preface to the Second Edition v
Preface to the First Edition vii
Life-Sketch of the author xiv
Contents xv
Abbreviations xvii
I. Introductory 1
II. North-Eastern India under the Imperial Gupta emperors, Chandragupta I and Samudragupta 5
Appendix I : Samudragupta's accession and the problem of Kācha 38
Appendix II : The Problem of Rāmagupta ... 39
III. North-Eastern India under the Imperial Gupta emperors, Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta 43
IV. The successors of Skandagupta and the Decline and Downfall of the Imperial Gupta rule ... 88
V. The Maukhari dynasty 121
VI. The Later Guptas of Magadha ... 143
VII. The amalgamated Kingdom of Karṇasuvarṇa and Puṇḍravardhana under Gauḍādhipa Śaśāṅka 156
VIII. The Kingdom of Orissa (Uḍra-Koṅgada-Kaliṅga) 196
IX. The Kingdom of Vaṅga-Samataṭa ... 221
X. The Kingdom of Kāmarūpa 263
XI. The Kingdom of Nepal 297
XII. Concluding remarks 391
Index 407
Addenda et Corrigenda 430

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Ancient India witnessed several forms of constitutional government monarchical, oligarchical, republican and tribal, working in different periods of her history, in different parts of the country. But the most prevailing form of Hindu constitution was monarchical. Generally speaking, in India, especially Northern India, there was a large number of small monarchical States which were ruled severally and independently by their own kings or chiefs, using such royal titles as *mahārāja*, *rājā*, *nṛipa* and the like, assisted by the necessary administrative machinery, viz., assembly of ministers and a body of State-officers in the various departments. Whenever any such local ruler of particular State, or any adventurer from a remote foreign land, having aspired, on account of the possession of adequate kingly virtues, to become a paramount suzerain—a *samrāṭ* or a *sārva-bhauma* emperor—succeeded in asserting his overlordship justly and legitimately on the several conterminous and distant States, that ruler or adventurer became the founder of some sort of an empire, keeping most of the kings and chiefs of the other States dependent on his imperial power either as feudal vassals or through other kinds of political alliances. Such a great sovereign was generally the head of a great confederation of States having, however, reserved for himself some provinces under his own direct rule and placed some other under that of his own viceroys or governors. As long as such an emperor could hold his own superior position intact, by means of his exceptional ability as the executive head of the administration, the smaller local States or provinces could easily be kept under his sway and subjection. But when through causes, internal or external, such an empire once bagan to decay, the numerous States that had once formed its component parts tried to recover their own independence.

During such period of decadence of an empire, unity disappears for the time being, dissension prevails and anarchy plays havoc. Disorder, chaos and confusion rule supreme, for there remains no real *daṇḍadhara* (wielder of *daṇḍa*) for controlling the independent States and saving the whole country from the evils and perils of distemper. Cohesive political relation amongst the different States may again arise, if and when, suzerainty or overlordship can be enforced on them by a powerful ruler who can, as a veritable incarnation of kingly virtues of a high order, assume the title of an emperor and establish an empire by his supremacy. Such an anarchical period when, for the want of proper *daṇḍadhara* the weak are oppressed by the strong and a struggle for supremacy amongst the various local rulers ensues, is called by the Hindu authors of the *Arthaśāstras*, *Nīti-śāstras* (sciences and treatises on polity) and the *Smṛitis* (law-books) the period of *mātsyanyāya*[1] (a term of political philosophy expressing a state of anarchy, derived from the well-known natural phenomenon that large fish devour the small ones in water). It is a misnomer to call any period of history a blank, for, even then local powers exist and strive, as political rivals to attain a higher position, even that of a suzerain, if possible.

Such a course of disruption befell the great empire of the Mauryas in the remote past. A similar condition awaited the Kushān empire some time later. From whatever cause or causes the fall of that empire might have taken place, a period of *mātsyanyāya* prevailed in Northern India, during which the kings or chiefs of the various local centres, e.g. Girinagara in Surāshṭra, Ujjayinī in Avantī, Vaiśālī in Videha, Pāṭaliputra in Magadha etc. must have entered into a struggle amongst themselves for supremacy and overlordship. The downfall of the Kushān empire in Āryāvarta (Northern India) synchronised with that of the Andhra empire in Dakshiṇāpatha (the Deccan). The disappearance of the rule of both these powerful dynasties from the stage of Indian history took place during the first half of the third century A.D. Then followed, except in the Panjab and the far North-West of India, a period of anarchy which continued for about one century, till all disorder settled down under the suzerain power of the Gupta monarchs, who succeeded in establishing a North Indian empire, which lasted in full glory for well-nigh two and a half centuries. During this long period—approximately from the first quarter of the fourth century A. D. to the second of the sixth—the Gupta emperors had under their unrivalled sway almost the whole of Northern India. The kings ruling during this period are styled the imperial Gupta rulers to distinguish them from those kings with 'Gupta' appendage to their names, who in a somewhat later period continued to reign in a circumscribed area in Magadha and the neighbouring countries even after the next period of *mātsyanyāya*, which followed the dissolution of Harshavardhana's empire and almost till the rise of the Pāla kings of Bengal who enjoyed supreme power in North-Eastern India.

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[1] अप्रणीतो हि मात्स्यन्यायमुद्भावयति। बलीयानवलं हि ग्रसते दण्डधराभावे। Cf. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, Chap. IV, p. 33, Trivandrum, Ed. 1924. Also compare—*Kām. Nīti*, Chap. II, v 40 ;—*Manu*, VII, 20 ;—*Rāmāyaṇa*, Ch. 67, v. 31 of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa.

The word *daṇḍa* may refer either to the royal sceptre or one of the four political expedients mentioned in ancient Indian political treatises.

CHAPTER II

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA UNDER THE IMPERIAL GUPTA EMPERORS CHANDRAGUPTA I AND SAMUDRAGUPTA

The origin of the Imperial Guptas is yet shrouded in obscurity. Some scholars are of opinion that they probably belonged to the Dhāraṇa *gotra* ; others say they were of Kāraskara origin. But these views are not yet worthy of full credence. Although it is true that some officials of the early Sātavāhana rulers of the south and some persons in the early Buddhist votive inscriptions bear names ending in *Gupta* title, we cannot safely connect them with the predecessors of the early Gupta rulers of Magadha. According to Dr S. Chattopadhyaya the Imperial Guptas were of Kshatriya origin.[1]

Inscriptional records show that the founder of the Gupta dynasty was a king named Gupta, who had the use of the title *mahārāja* only and that his son and successor, bearing the same title, was named Ghaṭotkacha. The late Dr. V. Smith's suggestion[2] that the name of the founder of the Gupta family was 'Śrīgupta' and not simply 'Gupta' is indefensible. Like the names of the other Gupta kings used in

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1. *E. H. N. I.*, p. 140.
2. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LIII, Pt. 1, p. 119 and note.

inscriptions and coins, this first king's name was also decorated with the honorific prefix, 'Śrī'. It cannot be ascertained whether Dr. Rapson's seal with the legend *Guttasya* (in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit) belongs to *mahārāja* Gupta, but Dr. Hoernle's clay-seal,[3] with the legend *Śrīguptasya* inscribed on it, appears to belong to this king. The king Śrīgupta, referred to by the Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing,[4] as the founder of a Buddhist temple with an endowment of twenty-four large villages for the benefit of Chinese pilgrims, and as reigning some five hundred years before his own time of travel in India (A. D. 673-695), can be identified with, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, if we make some allowance for the pilgrim's calculation of the interval between his own time and king Gupta's, which is only conjecturally put as five hundred years. He may have hazarded such a statement on hearsay evidence only. Another important argument in favour of the identification of I-tsing's Śrīgupta with *mahārāja* Gupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, advanced by the late Allan[5] is that "the lands of the patron of the Chinese pilgrims must have lain within the Gupta territory, and it is unlikely that we should have had two different rulers in the same territory of the same name within so brief a period ; had the Gupta mentioned by I-tsing been an ancestor of and not identical with Gupta, he must have appeared in some of the genealogical lists". Hence the two may be regarded as identical. However, from the use of the title, *mahārāja*, both by Gupta and Ghaṭotkacha, it appears that they were small kings of the feudatory type and were not paramount sovereigns. Pāṭaliputra in Magadha was most probably the political centre of their territory. It may be supposed with Allan[6] and probably rightly, that "the Gupta kingdom was probably one of many which rose to practical independence with the decline of Kushān power". Following the view of the late Dr. V. Smith and other scholars we may place the rule of *mahārāja* Gupta conjecturally between A. D. 275 and 300 and that of Ghatoṭkacha between A. D. 300 and 320 respectively. A seal bearing the legend *Śrī-Ghaṭotkachaguptasya* inscribed on it, was discovered at Vaiśālī (Besarh). The identification of this Ghaṭotkachagupta with *māharāja* Ghaṭotkacha of the Gupta dynasty was advanced by the late Dr. Bloch and Dr. Smith.[7] The seal in question was discovered along with other seals belonging to the Gupta period, the most remarkable of them being the one belonging to the chief queen of Chandragupta II, viz. *mahādevī* Dhruvasvāminī (undoubtedly the same as the queen named Dhruvadevī in the inscriptions), who was the mother of *mahārāja* Govindagupta who might have been a governer under some of the imperial Guptas. It cannot be stated with any degree of certainty whether the second Gupta ruler (Ghaṭotkacha) had any relation with Vaiśālī, the capital of the old clan of the Lichchhavis. His son and successor, Chandragupta I, who was the third king in the Gupta line, but the first *mahārājādhirāja* of the dynasty, married a Lichchhavi-*Kumārī* named Kumāradevī. It may be believed that Ghaṭotkacha, though a local king of Magadha ruling from Pāṭaliputra, might have, towards the close of his rule, become more powerful on account of the growing power of his worthy and accomplished son Chandragupta I, whose strong support must have helped the father to extend his own dominion by making a conquest of the northern state of Vaiśālī and to compel the Lichchhavi chief or chiefs to please him by entering into a *santāna-sandhi*[8] (a kind of treaty or peace by the present of a maiden to a victor), by which the hand of Kumāradevī was probably won for his own son. So it appears that the expansion of the kingdom of Magadha was to a very large

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[3] *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p, 814, plate 6, 23 and 1901, p. 99.

[4] *Ibid*, N. S. Vol. XIII, 1882, p. 571, and *I. A.*, Vol, X, p. 110.

[5] Allan—*C. C. B. M. G. D.*, Intro., pp. XV-XVI.

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[6] *Ibid*, Introduction, p. XVI,

[7] *A. S. R.*, 1903-4, p. 102 and *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 153 ; *E. H. I.*, p. 280, note 1.

[8] Cf. *Kām. Nīti*—Chap, IX, v, 6.
"सन्तानसन्धिर्विज्ञेयो दारिकादानपूर्व्वकः ।"

extent due to the general weakening of the power of the Lichchhavis. An alternative theory may be advanced that after the death of Ghaṭotkacha, Chandragupta I himself, most powerful and rising as he was, began to extend his ancestral kingdom of Pāṭaliputra, and just as his renowned son and successor Samudragupta is known from his own record to have gained the services of the kings of different States by various conciliatory methods, one amongst which was *kanyopāyana*[9] ('presentation of a daughter'), so also it is not improbable that his father Chandragupta I, should have, in course of his conquest, pushed his arms first of all into the neighbouring northern State of Vaiśālī and caused one of the Lichchhavi chiefs to offer him the hand of his daughter Kumāradevī. Matrimonial alliances between royal families for political purposes have been prevalent in all times in all countries, specially in India. In a still earlier period of Indian history we find an instance of such an alliance ratifying the incorporation of a country into an empire. Nāganika,[10] the queen of the third Andhra king Śātakarṇi, was a Mahāraṭhi princess, (i.e a daughter of a king of the Rāshṭrikas). This marriage is regarded by scholars as a convenient way of extension of the Andhra empire upto the valley of the Godāvarī (Nasik district). The marriage of Prabhāvatī, daughter of Chandragupta II and his second wife Kuveranāgā with Rudrasena II, the Vākāṭaka king of the Deccan, (south of the Vindhyas) is another instance of a similar matrimonal alliance[11]. In a later period of Indian history we find several instances of political marriages. Karṇa of Chedi was obliged to make peace with Vigrahapāla III, king of Gauḍa by marrying his daughter Yauvanaśrī[12] to his victorious enemy. Jātavarman, the powerful Varman king of East Bengal, who, we learn[13] from the Belava copperplate inscription of Bhojavarman, began to spread his arms of conquest for securing overlordship, was pacified by the same Chedi king by the marriage with him of another daughter of his, named Vīraśrī. Other such alliances will be referred to in some of the subsequent chapters of this work.

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[9] *C. I. I.*, No. 1, l. 24.

[10] *C. H. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 530-31.

The late Dr. Smith's theory[14] that Chandragupta I, "by means of his matrimonial alliance" with the Lichchhavis, "succeeded to the power held by his wife's relatives", who, he thinks, "were masters of the ancient imperial city", Pāṭaliputra, cannot be accepted without some reservation. We have no evidence to show whether in the third century A. D. and during the first quarter of the fourth, the

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[11] Fleet—*C. I. I.*, No. 55, p, 237.

[12] Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacharitam* (*Memoirs of the A. S. B*) Chap. I. V. 9.

[13] *Vide* the author's paper in the *E. I.* Vol. XII, No. 8

[14] V. A. Smith—*E. H. I.*, p. 279.

Lichchhavis were in occupation of Pāṭaliputra, as well as their ancestral territory of Vaiśālī, or, only of Pāṭaliputra. We only know from one[15] of the Nepal inscriptions (No. 15) that king Supuspa of the Lichchhavi family was born in Pushpapura (i.e. Pāṭaliputra) but he belonged to a period long before the Christian era according to the calculation of time of the events mentioned in that Nepal record. In any case there is no denying the fact that this matrimonial union of the two families was a great political achievement on the part of Chandragupta I, and it might have enabled him to extend his conquests and raise himself from the old position of a local *mahārāja* to the rank of a lord-paramount, a *māhārājādhirāja* and thus to lay the foundation of a mighty empire in Northern India.

CHANDRAGUPTA I

(c. 1—16 G. E. = c. A. D. 319-335)

Allan observed that in order to commemorate the famous union of the Guptas with the Lichchhavis treated above, it was Chandragupta I's son and successor, Samudragupta[1] who issued a type of coins which bore on the obverse the figures of his father and mother, Kumāradevī, along with their names, and on the reverse the figure of a Devī (Goddess) seated on a lion, with the legend *Lichchavayaḥ*. But following the late Dr. V. Smith[2] we may presume that it was probably Chandragupta I himself, and not his son, who struck such coins out of a sense of pleasant gratitude that his own power was much augmented by this matrimonial relation with the Lichchhavis. Had it been issued later by his son, Samudragupta, the name of the latter must have been inscribed thereon.[3] We do not concur with the late. Allan's view[4] that these Gupta coins could not possibly be "a local development, in Magadha, of the late Kushān coins from which they are obviously derived" ; but we think, as will be shown below, that the period "when the Guptas came into close contact with the late Great Kushānas whose eastern (Punjab) coinage they copy" may have belonged to as early a time of the Gupta history as the reign of Chandragupta I, who had spread his arms of conquest (may not be meant for an annexation) to the distant countries of the west frontiers washed by the Indus.

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[15] *I. A.*, Vol. IX, 1880, p. 178.

[1] *C. C. B. M. G. D.*,—Intro., p. XVIII, § 14.

After his accession Chandragupta I began to extend his dominion by means of fresh conquests. Although we are not in possession of any definite inscriptional literature for supplying us with details of the extent of his conquests we can ascertain from a reference to his son Samudragupta's campaigns of conquests as described in the Allahabad pillar inscription that Chandragupta I ruled over eastern U.P., Bihar and Northern Bengal. In discussing the date of the compilation of the dynastic account in the Purāṇas Pargiter[5] thus writes : "The Guptas are mentioned as reigning over the country comprised within Prayāga, Sāketa (Ayodhyā), and Magadha, that is exactly the territory which was possessed at his death by Chandragupta I, who founded the Gupta dynasty in A.D. 319-20 and reigned till 326 or 330 (or even till 335) perhaps before it was extended by the conquests of his son and successor Samudragupta". This scholar also holds the view that as the Paurāṇic account does not take any notice of Samudragupta's conquests, nor of the empire, the narrative was closed during the interval which elapsed between the time when Chandragupta I established his kingdom from Magadha over Tirhut, other parts of Bihar and Oudh as far as Allahabad and the beginning of Samudragupta's reign. But there is reason to believe that this account of the Purāṇas[6] with regard to the extent of the Gupta dominions had been compiled before

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[2] *E. H. I.*, p. 290

[3] Altekar—*C. G. E.*, p. 28.

[4] *C. C. B. M. G. D.*, Intro., pp. LXV-LXVI.

[5] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Introduction, p. XII, § 20.

[6] Cf. *Vishṇupurāṇa*—Bk. IV Chap. 24—अनुगङ्गं प्रयागं मागधा

Chandragupta I made other glorious conquests (to be dealt with below) which probably took place towards the latter part of his reign. The passages in question in the various Purāṇas have, however, different readings which to some extent minimise their value[7]. It may be presumed that the province of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) was also brought under the rule of Chandragupta I, for, had the conquest of this province fallen to the lot of his son, Samudragupta, that event should certainly have found mention in his famous Allahabad record. It will not probably be correct to hold that North Bengal during this period formed directly a part of Magadha, and was ruled by the central government from Pāṭaliputra, but it was very likely placed under the charge of a governor appointed by the imperial monarch. This may seem to be evident from the records of the Gupta rulers in a later period.

It has been shown elsewhere[8] in detail why we should identify the Chandra of the Meharauli Iron pillar inscriptions[9], written in North Indian script of the fourth century of the Christian era, with the

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गुप्ताश्च भोक्ष्यन्ति । and also *Vāyu Purāṇa* Chap. 99—अनुगङ्गं प्रयागं च साकेतं मगधांस्तथा । एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः ॥

Also cf. V. Smith, *I. A.* 1902, p. 258 note.

[7] Vide Chapter I.

[8] The writer's paper was published in *I. A.* 1919, pp. 98-101.

[9] Fleet *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 32.

Gupta emperor Chandragupta I. A few remarks may be offered here by way of refuting the view of the late Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri which was accepted by the late Dr. V. Smith[10] and which Professor R. C. Majumdar[11] also first felt inclined to accept, that this Chandra was not a ruler of the Gupta dynasty and that he should be identified with king Chandravarman mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri based his arguments in favour of this identification, on two inscriptions, viz. the Mandasor Stone inscription[12] of Naravarman of the year 461 of the Mālava era (=A. D. 404) and the Susunia Hill inscription[13] of Chandravarman. It may be mentioned that in the first inscription king (*pārthiva*) Naravarman uses with his name the title *mahārāja* and in the second, Chandavarman also does the same. In the one, *mahārāja* Narvarman is described as the son of king Siṁhavarman and in the other *mahārāja* Chandravarman is mentioned as the son of the same king, attached to whose name we find another epithet

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[10] *E. H. I.*, p. 290, foot-note 1.

[11] R. C. Majumdar *in Early History of Bengal*, published by the University of Dacca, 1924. His later identification of Chandra with Chandra-Kaṇishka (=Kaṇishka I) does not appeal to us.

[12] *E. I.*, Vol. XIII, No. 35.

[13] *Ibid.* Vol. XII, No. 9. (Vide *J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol., IX, pp. 179ff).

Pushkaraṇādhipati which means that king Siṁhavarman was the ruler of Pushkaraṇ (probably, Pokaran in Rājasthāna).[14] In Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription there is a mention of a king named Chandravarman as one of the several kings of Āryāvarta (Northern India) who were violently extirpated by that Gupta monarch during his campaign of conquests. Naravarman appears to have ruled as a feudatory king in Western Malwa in A.D. 404 i.e. during the reign of Chandragupta II, son of Samudragupta. Hence the supposition is inevitable that Chandravarman was an elder brother of Naravarman. The identity of the Chandravarman of the Susunia Hill inscription as established by Pandit Sastri is quite correct, but there will be very great difficulties in proving conclusively that this Chandravarman and the Chandra of the Iron Pillar are identical. Let us now consider the following historical data supplied by the Meharauli inscription :—(i) King Chandra extirpated in battle in the Vaṅga countries (East and South Bengal) his enemies who offered him a united resistance and thereby he achieved fame ; (ii) he, in course of war, crossed the seven mouths of the Indus (Sindhu) and over-came the Vāhlikas[15] (probably, some people of foreign origin in the upper Punjab) ; (iii) the Southern Ocean was "even to-day" (i.e. at the time of incision of the epigraph) "being perfumed by the breezes of his prowess" i.e. he probably proceeded also towards the South for making conquests ; (iv) his majestic glory still lingered on earth in the shape of fame even after his death ; [16] (v) he enjoyed for a long time (*suchiraṁ*) lord-paramountcy (*aikādhirājyaṁ*) on earth, earned by the strength of his own arms (*svabhujārjjitaṁ*) i.e. he was justified in calling himself a *mahārājādhirājā*, a title which he himself earned by his own prowess ; and (vi) he was a Vaishṇava and raised this pillar as a flag-staff (*dhvaja*) in honour of god Vishṇu on the Vishṇupada hill.

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[14] According to some scholar this Pushkaraṇa is identified, with a place in Bankura district of West Bengal, named Pokhran, but this does not appear as a happy suggestion.

From these data we find that king Chandra was

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15. It may be suggested that the Vālhikas were the same as the Bāhīkas (the country of the Bāhīka people who had their capital in Sākala (Sialkot in the Punjab). See Prof. S. N. Majumdar's note on pp. 686-87 of Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, 1924. Varāhamihira mentions Vāhikas as one of the northern peoples. Allan thinks it "probable that the name Vāhlika had acquired a more general significance and used like Pahlavas, Yavana, and, of a body of foreign invaders of India" (*Cat.*, Intro., p. xxxvi) and therefore it may not have any reference to the people of Bālkh. Also see 'Vāhlika and Vāhika' in D. C. Sircar's *G.A.M.I.*, pp. 184ff.

16. This datum indicates clearly that the inscription was a posthumous one and was probably got incised by the order of a successor of king Chandra.

a mighty monarch who acquired the title of *mahārāj-ādhirāja* (expressed for metrical exigencies as *aikādhirājyaṁ prāpta* in line 5 of the inscription), whereas Chandravarman is simply mentioned in the Susunia inscription with the title *mahārāja* which during the Gupta period of Indian history and even earlier, was used by kings of small States and by feudatory rulers. The fifth datum noted above is very significant. The statement that Chandra earned supreme overlordship on earth by means of his own prowess and enjoyed it for a long time and that he led his arms of conquest to the distant countries (Vaṅga) in the east and those washed by the Indus on the west and also towards the south, applied more to an early Gupta ruler of the fourth century A. D. than to any local king of any of the smaller states then ruling independently in Northern India. There is no Paurāṇic or epigraphic evidence to show that any other family of kings made any attempt in the fourth century to assume imperial dignity by conquering distant countries. So the inevitable conclusion that forces itself upon us it that it was Samudragupta's father, Chandragupta I, the first *mahārājādhirāja* of the Gupta line of emperors, who began to establish the empire by marching out for achieving conquests in Eastern and Southern Bengal, in portions of the Punjab through Sind, and also towards the South. It cannot, however, be stated with any degree of certainty how far Chandrgupta I succeeded in incorporating these conquered provinces into his own central kingdom or in entering into any kind of political relation with their rulers or chiefs.

It seems quite probable that Samudragupta ordered this epigraph to be incised on this very costly pillar of wrought iron which his late father Chandragupta I had caused to be erected as a flag-staff in honour of Vishṇu ; and as the ancestors of his father were local chiefs (*mahārājas*), the emperor did not perhaps command the court-poet to refer to any pedigree in the inscription. To prove completely that king Chandravarman and the Chandra of the Iron pillar are identical, one must establish, first of all, that Chandravarman came to Vaṅga (East and South Bengal) "on a campaign of conquests". The Susunia inscription offers not the slightest hint of any such conquest. It simply states that the dedication of the wheel on the back-wall of the cave (just below which the inscription is engraved) was a pious "deed (*kīrttiḥ*) of *mahārāja* Chandravarman, son of *mahārāja* Siṁhavarman, king of Pushkaraṇa". It does not say "that Chandra of Pokarna *did conquer* that part of the country" as asserted somewhat unwarrantedly by Pandit Śāstrī. The Susunia hill is situated in Rāḍhā or Suṁha (West Bengal), while king Chandra came to Vaṅga (East and part of South Bengal). Dr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali,[17] lent

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17. *Dacca Review*, Vol. X, 1920, 21, Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5.

some force to the opinion of Mm. H. P. Śāstrī by pointing out a solitary reference to one Chandravarman whose *koṭa* or fort formed a boundary of a land, granted to a Brāhman by a king of the sixth century A.D. somewhere near Koṭālipāḍā in the district of Faridpur. This view of Dr. Bhattasali led Dr. R. C. Majumdar to think that Chandravarman of Pushkaraṇa subjugated Bengal and ruled over it for some time. But the Faridpur inscription does not in any way show that Chandravarman was a king of Bengal. On the other hand, it can be easily presumed that Chandravarman might have gone to the Susunia hill on a pilgrimage to the hill-cave to do honour in person to the god Chakrasvāmin and that it was probably a very famous place of pilgrimage in old days. It may be advanced as an argument that as the wheel in the Susunia hill-cave and the flag-staff, viz. the Iron pillar, are both sacred to the god Vishṇu, it favours the identity of Chandravarman and Chandra. But were not the Gupta emperors themselves devotees of Vishṇu or Bhagavān (*paramabhāgavatas*) ? Hence we are still inclined to believe with the late Dr. Fleet that the Chandra of the Iron pillar is the first Gupta *mahārājādhirāja* Chandragupta I, and this accounts for the striking palaeographical similarity of this inscription with the Allahabad pillar inscription of his son Samudragupta.

The first year of this monarch's reign, reckoned very likely from his assumption of the title of *mahārājādhirāja* after he had already extended to some extent his ancestral kingdom, was 319-20 A.D., and the era known to historians as "the Gupta era", used in inscriptional and numismatic records in many parts of Northern India during the next few centuries, began from this date. It may be assumed that some conquests had been made by Chandragupta I before this date, and that he might have ruled simply as a *mahārāja* for a few years after his father *mahārāja* Ghaṭotkacha's death, and that the ceremony for the celebration of his accession to the high office of *aikādhirājya* or the status of a *mahārājādhirāja* occurred in A.D. 319-20 whence his regnal year commenced to be counted.[18]

SAMUDRAGUPTA-PARĀKRAMĀṄKA

(c. 16-61 G. E. = c. A. D. 335-380)

Chandragupta I was succeeded by his son Samudragupta, who, it is clear from an epigraph of the latter's reign, does not appear to have been the eldest son. He was selected by his father for the Crown-princeship. The events of the reign of this great Gupta ruler can only be known from a study of two inscriptions of his reign and the different types of his coins. The most famous of all documents of the Gupta period of Indian history, possessing historical value, is the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. This inscription[1] is engraved on a round monolith sand-stone pillar, which also contains a set of edicts caused to be incised by the imperial command of the Mauryya emperor Aśoka in the third century B. C. In spite of the ravages perpetrated by time and men, the pillar has preserved many passages of historical and geographical importance regarding the reign of Samudragupta.

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[18] That the first year of the Gupta era should be 319-20 is definitely proved by the evidence of the Mathura Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II. *E. I.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1-9.

It is a historical document of the *praśasti* type, forming a panegyric discourse on the *avadānas* or heroic achievements of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta, whose conquests in various quarters are vividly described in it by his court-poet Harisheṇa, who calls himself the son of *Mahādaṇḍaṇāyaka* Dhruvabhūti. He belonged to a place called Khādyaṭapāka and had himself the right to use the three high titles of *sāndhi-vigrahika* (minister of Peace and War i.e. Foreign minister), *kumārāmātya* (either a minister to the princes, or himself a minister by right of birth), and *Mahādaṇḍaṇāyaka* (the chief administrator of *daṇḍa*, justice). It may be noted here that this pillar inscription is not a posthumous record as was long supposed by some scholars including the late Dr. Fleet. *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Tilabhaṭṭaka was the person who got the *praśasti* executed.

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[1] *C. I. I.*, Insc., No. 1.

In order to get a comprehensive idea of this mighty monarch's military achievements, it is necessary that we should give here a summary of the contents of this invaluable epigraph. It is a contemporary record of the aggressive campign of conquests undertaken by Samudragupta and of his personal accomplishments. Geographically this campaign may be described under four heads,—(i) as led against the numerous kings of the South (Dakshiṇāpatha), (ii) against the kings of some States in the North (Āryyāvarta), (iii) against the chiefs of some of the forest kingdoms (*āṭavikarājas*) and (iv) against some of the unorthodox frontier rulers (*pratyantanṛipatis*) and the repulican communities. One verse (v. 4) in this inscription most graphically, though in an epigrammatic way, describes the manner in which Samudragupta was ordained by his father Chandragupta I to be his successor, as being the best fitted amongst all other princes to rule the earth—his choice having been decided in a ceremonious meeting wherein all members were anxiously breathing forth deep sighs to see the prince on whom the royal selection should fall, and all the other royal claimants were waiting to cast jealous looks of disappointment on the person selected. The emperor embraced his worthy son

Samudragupta, and made him the Crown-prince. It is very probable that he was not the eldest son of Chandragupta I, and it is clear that the law of primogeniture was not in operation during this period. Another most interesting touch by the poet-laureate in the picture of the triumphant expeditions of this aggressor is found in his description of the charming person of Samudragupta, disfigured, rather "beautified", as the poet would have it, by "the blows of battle-axes, arrows, spears, pikes, barbed darts, swords, lances, javelines, iron arrows" and many other weapons, which caused marks of innumerable wounds, when this Parākramāṅka (Samudragupta) engaged himself in battle with his own strength and prowess as his only ally.

The Gupta emperor's military expedition may be described as follows. In a half-mutilated verse (v. 5) some opponents are stated to have submitted to him and asked for shelter (*śaraṇam = upāgatāḥ*) after having been afflicted by his prowess ; and in the next verse it is hinted that some of his great wrong-doers (*uchchāpakārāḥ*) were defeated by the king's own hands in battle (*saṁgrāmeshu svabhuja-vijitāḥ*) and that after expressing repentance for their wrong-doing they became the monarch's friends. It is recorded in another verse (v. 7) that Achyuta and Nāgasena were completely overthrown and that a descendant of the Kota family was made a captive by the soldiers of the emperor. The poet-laureate then refers to the aggressive deeds of the emperor, who engaged himself in many battles of various kinds, for winning glory by a victory over the entire earth (*sarva-pṛithivī-vijaya*). Lines 19—20, written in excellent Sanskrit prose, record the defeat courted by the kings of the numerous States in the Deccan, viz. (1) Mahendra of Kosala, (2) Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, (3) Manṭarāja of Korāla or Kurāla, (4) Mahendra of Pishṭapura, (5) Svāmidatta of Giri-Koṭṭūra, (6) Damana of Eraṇḍapalla, (7) Vishṇugopa of Kāñchī, (8) Nīlarāja of Avamukta, (9) Hastivarman of Veṅgī, (10) Ugrasena of Pālakka (11) Kuvera of Devarāshṭra, (12) Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura and others. Harisheṇa here speaks of Samudragupta as having attained "a great good fortune, mixed with majestic glory," by his first capturing these kings of the South and then favouring them with a release (*grahaṇa-moksh-ānugraha-janita-pratāpa*) This military progress through the Southern States was undoubtedly made at the final stage of the expedition. Lines 20-21 describe the emperor as having added to his majesty by a violent extirpation of a number of kings in Northern India (Āryyāvarta), viz. (1) Rudradeva, (2) Matila, (3) Nāgadatta, (4) Chandravarman, (5) Gaṇapatināga, (6) Nāgasena, (7) Achyutanandin[2],

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[2] Some scholars divide the word as Achyuta and Nandin, making them stand for two different persons, but Nandin seems to have been a surname. The name was probably used

(8) Balavarman and many others, whose territories, however, are not mentioned in the inscription. They perhaps ruled independently over some of the well-known neighbouring provinces and States of Northern India, such as Pushkaraṇa, Aṅga, Avanti, Anūpa, Śūrasena etc. existing from before Samudragupta's time, as we infer from Kālidāsa's mention of them in his great epic, the *Raghuvaṁśa*. There is hardly any doubt that those kings, at least those whose States were allowed to continue as separate States and were not brought by annexation under the direct jurisdiction of the central government, were forced to become feudatories of the Gupta monarch after their defeat. Some of these kingdoms were most probably incorporated in the Gupta empire. In all probability Samudragupta first turned his attention to the subjugation of these Northern kings before proceeding toward the South.

The inscription then describes the emperor as turning towards the forest kings, perhaps of modern Central India, and bringing them under his power (*parichārakīkṛita-sarvāṭavika-rāja*). In lines 22-23 it is mentioned that some of the neighbouring kings of *pratyanta*[3] (frontier ?) countries of the North and

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without the surname in V. 7 (Ll. 13—14) to meet the exigencies of metre.

[3] Cf. Amarakosha—प्रत्यन्तो म्लेच्छदेशः स्यात् i.e. those countries were called *pratyantas* which did not abide by the orthodox rules regarding the *varṇas* and the *āśramas*.

the North-East, viz. (1) Samataṭa, (2) Ḍavāka, (3) Kāmarūpa, (4) Nepāla, (5) Kartṛipura etc. and some of the republican communities of the West and South-West, viz. (1) the Mālavas, (2) the Ārjunāyanas, (3) the Yaudheyas, (4) the Madrakas, (5) the Ābhīras, (6) the Prārjunas, (7) the Sanakānikas, (8) the Kākas, (9) the Kharaparikas and others, gratified the monarch by payment of all kinds of tribute (*sarva-kara-dāna*), by obedience to his commands (*ājñākaraṇa*) and by approach for paying court to the monarch (*praṇāmāgamana*). Lines 23-24 mention some of the distant rulers, the representatives of the various races of foreign origin viz. the Daivaputras and Shāhis and Shāhānushāhis, the Śaka-Muruṇḍas, the people of Ceylon and the inhabitants of all other islands (*Saiṁhalakādibhiś = cha sarva-dvīpa-vāsibhiḥ*), as rendering the Gupta monarch service, by means of self-surrender (*ātmanivedana*), presents of maiden-princess (*kanyopāyana*), payment of tribute of gifts (*dāna*) and request for the issue of the royal charter marked with the Garuḍa symbol which guaranteed their enjoyment of their own territories (*garutmad-aṅka-svavishaya-bhukti-śāsana-yāchana*). The emperor is also described in line 23 as having won fame by re-establishing many royal families previously fallen and deprived of their kingdoms (*aneka-bhrashṭa rājyotsanna-rāja-vaṁśa-pratishṭhāpana*) ; and he is also said to have appointed his own State-officers (*āyukta-*

purushas) to restore the wealth of various kings who were conquered by the strength of his own arms (*svabhujabala-vijit-āneka-narapati-vibhava-pratyarpaṇa*).

From the above details it appear to be very plain that there were differences in the nature of conquests and invasions made by the mighty Gupta emperor. Firstly, there was violent extermination of some kings of Northern India and permanent annexation of their kingdoms to the victor's own dominions. Secondly, there was liberation after capture of some of the kings of Southern India and re-instatement of these kings in their own kingdoms. Thirdly, there was acceptance of some sort of service, monetary or personal, rendered by some of the kings of the neighbouring (*pratyanta*) countries, by some of the tribal republics, as also by some distant foreign powers, who, it appears, were all allowed to enjoy autonomy by acknowledging the sovereignty of the Gupta emperor. Fourthly, there was renewal of old administration of some ruined royal families that had been deprived of their power, perhaps, by former emperors. Lastly, there was a restoration of wealth to many kings who were conquered by the emperor himself.

It will not be out of place here to add a note on the identification of the names of places, kings and peoples mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription. The States of the Deccan were :—(1) Kosala,

—this is South Kosala in the Mahānadī valley, comprising parts of the modern districts of Jabbalpur, Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur. (2) Mahākāntāra,—this seems to be one of the Southern forest countries which constitute the tributary States of Orissa and the backward tracts of the Central Provinces. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri[4] locates this wild tract in Madhya Pradesh. (3) Korāla or Kaurāla—this is perhaps the district round the modern lake Kolleru. Dr. Raychaudhuri once identified it with Kerala which, he thought, was "the district of which the capital in later times was Yayātinagara on the Mahānadī," but later on he rejected this identification. (4) Pishṭapura—this is certainly Pīṭhāpuram in the Godāvarī district, the ancient capital of Kaliṅga. (5) Giri-Koṭṭūra,—this Koṭṭūra has been identified with Kothoor, 12 miles s. s. w. of the *giri* (hill) i.e. Mahendragiri in the Ganjam district. It is doubtful if Svāmidatta was to be taken as the ruler of two places viz. Pishṭapura and Mahendragiri-Koṭṭūra. The name[5] of the king of the former place seems to have been Mahendra and that of Giri-Koṭṭūra was Svāmidatta. The last three states were situated within the boundaries of old Kaliṅga. (6) Eraṇḍapalla,—Professor Dubreuil[6] is of opinion that Samudragupta's military operations in the Deccan were confined only to the eastern parts of the country. So he thinks that the identification of this place with Erandol in Khandesh is wrong. In the opinion of this scholar Samudragupta did not turn westward, neither did he come home through Khandesh and the Mahāraṭṭa country. He identifies it with Eraṇḍapali, "a town probably near Chicacole." (7) Kāñchī,—this is undoubtedly Conjeevaram to the s. w. of Madras ; hence, Vishṇugopa was a Pallava king. (8) Avamukta—this has not yet been properly identified. (9) Veṅgī—this has been identified with Vegi or Peddavegi, situated between the eastern portion of the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā. (10) Pālakka,—this is a place probably in the Nellore district, identified with Palakkada, the seat of a viceroyalty under the Pallava kings. (11) Devarāshṭra—according to Professor Dubreuil it would be wrong to take it to refer to any place in Māhārāshtra in the western part of the Deccan ; hence he thinks that this place is the tract Yellamañchili in the district of Vizagapatam. (12) Kusthalapura—Dr. L. D. Barnett identified it with Kuttalur, in North Arcot[7].

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[4] *P. H. A. I.*, p. 539

[5] The clauses in this view are to be separated thus :—
[पैष्ठपुरक]—महेन्द्र—[गिरिकौट्टूरक]—स्वामिदत्त ।

As regards the identification of the northern States conquered by the Gupta emperor it may

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6. *A. H. D.*, pp. 58-61.
7. *Cal. Rev.*, 1924., 253n.

be noted that the kingdom of Rudradeva is yet unknown. King Matila is said to be identical with Mattila whose name occurs in a seal found in Bulandshahr. Nāgadatta may not have been a member of any of the Nāga dynasties referred to in the Purāṇas, which ruled "in the Jumna valley and Central India in the fourth century A.D." In the Gupta and post-Gupta period of Indian history we find different surnames, such as *datta*, *sena*, *varman*, *nandin*, *nāga*, etc. So we do not feel inclined to take Nāgadatta for a king of any of the Nāga States such as were ruled by Gaṇapatināga himself. As has been shown before, Chandravarman of this inscription may rightly be identified with the king of Pushkaraṇa, modern Pokharan, in Rājputana, who is mentioned as *māhārāja* Chandravarman, son of *māhārāja* Siṁhavarman. So he belongs to that family of Varman kings of western Mālava to which Naravarman (461 M.E.), Viśvavarman (480 M.E.) and Bandhuvarman (493 M.E.) were members, some of whom ruled afterwards from Daśapura. We have shown elsewhere[8] that like his father Siṁhavarman and his grand-father Jayavarman before him, Chandravarman also might have ruled independently, before the Gupta conqueror advanced towards Mālava, and reduced the power of this Varman family of Pushkaraṇa by defeating him. It is not unlikely that Chandravarman, the elder brother, was driven away frem Mālava and proceeded towards the east. This may explain in a way why he came to the Susunia Hill (in the Bankura district). His youuger brother Naravarman might also have been raised to the position of a Gupta feudatory ruling from Daśapura (modern Mandasor). Gaṇapatināga was undoubtedly a king of the Nāga dynasty, many of whose coins have been discovered. One cannot be sure that he was a prince ruling from Padmāvatī (Narwar in Madhya Pradesh). The Nāga families ruled from more than one place viz. Padmāvatī, Mathurā and Vidiśā[9]. But we may easily concur with the view of Professor Rapson who has identified Nāgasena of this inscription with the Nāgasena of the Nāgakula ruling from Padmāvatī, mentioned in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*[10]. We should not make two Nāga kings of the same family rule simultaneously from one place (Padmāvatī). In this inscription we read *Achyuta* and *Nandin* together. We do not accept the view that Nandin is the name of a person. It may be treated as a surname here. This Achyuta was very likely the king of that name represented only by the syllables *achyu* in a large number of coins found in Ahichchhatra in U. P. We cannot be very

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[8] *I. A.*, 1918, p. 99.

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9. *D. K. A.*, 49.
10. *H. C.*, Chapter VI. p. 50 (Kane's edition pt. II.)

sure that the kingdom of Balavarman mentioned in this *praśasti* was Kāmarūpa. One Balavarman was the son of Samudravarman, whom we have shown in a separate chapter to have been a contemporary of Samudragupta himself. Probably this Balavarman of the Allahabad pillar has nothing to do with Kāmarpūpa, as it has been separately mentioned as one of the *pratyanta* kingdoms which entered into a subordinate alliance with the Gupta monarch. So in all probability, this Balavarman was a king of some country other than Kāmarūpa.

Regarding the identification of the *pratyanta* (or the so-called frontier) provinces and the republics referred to in the *praśasti*, it may be observed that Samataṭa stood for nearly the whole of the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra including parts of the modern districts of Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur, Eastern part of Dacca and Tippera. Kāmarūpa is more or less represented by modern Assam. Ḍavāka has not yet been properly identified. Coming between Samataṭa and Kāmarūpa in the list, it may have corresponded to the northern part of Dacca and almost the whole of the Mymensingh district. We have pointed out in our paper on the Damodarpur plates that Ḍavāka should not be identified with portions of Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi districts of North Bengal, which must have formed part of the *vishaya* of Koṭivarsha in the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana. The kingdom of Nepāla is the well-known geographical unit forming the mountainous country north of old Magadha, Tīrabhukti, Ayodhya etc. The kingdom of Kartṛipura may have comprised the territories of the Katuria Raj of the Kumaon, Garhwāl and Rohilkhand, and also the Kangra and Jalandhar districts.

Of the tribal republics mentioned in the *praśasti*, Allan[10] observes that "to the north-west were the Yaudheyas and Madrakas in the Punjab, with the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, and Ābhīras to the south of them". He writes, moreover, that "the lands of the Prārjunas, Sanakānikas, Kākas and Kharaparikas lay to the south, probably in Mālwā and the Central Provinces". It may be added here that the Mālava tribe was at first in the Punjab and later on they proceeded towards Rajputana in the western Mālava portion. The Bijaygadh inscription (Fleet, *C. I. I.*, No. 58, p. 251), literary references and the provenances of the coins of the Yaudheyas show that they were originally a tribe of the Punjab and subsequently extended into Western Rajputana.[11] Śākala or Sialkot in the Punjab was the capital of the Madraka tribe. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri has drawn the attention of scholars to the Ābhīras having occupied the tract near Vinaśana (the river Sarasvatī).[12] The situation of the Sanakānikas may be known from a reference to a tribal chief mentioned in the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II dated A.D. 401-02. This Udayagiri is a well-known hill near Bhilsa in the present Madhya Pradesh. The Prārjunas, Kākas and Kharaparikas might have occupied respectively the Narasiṁhapur district, Kākapur and Damoh district in M.P.[13]

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[10] *C.C.B.M.G.D.*, Intro., p. XXIV.

[11] *C.C.B.M.A.I.*, p. CLII.

[12] *P.H.A.I.*, p. 545.

Dr. Raychaudhuri[14] thinks that the Vākāṭaka prince Pṛithīvisheṇa I (father of Rudrasena II, a contemporary of Chandragupta II) was Samudragupta's contemporary, and had a predominant sway over the region between Bundelkhand and Karṇāṭa. He holds the view, moreover, that though Samudragupta did not invade the Western Deccan he deprived the Vākāṭakas of their possessions in Central India which were ruled by their vassal kings, one of whom was the Vyāghradeva of the Nachne-ki-talai inscription. He identifies this Vyāghradeva with the Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra in the Allahabad *praśasti* who, as feudatory of Pṛithivīsheṇa, was subdued by Samudragupta. Henceforward the Vākāṭaka power became extinct in Central India and it became a purely Southern power. Thus Central India came under the Magadhan empire. The enemies referred to in verse 6 of the Eran inscription (*C.I.I.*, No. 2) of Samudragupta, might have borne allusion to the Vākāṭaka feudatories.

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[13] *Ibid*, p. 546.

[14] *Ibid*, p. 541-42.

The foreign king Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushahi, who entered into diplomatic relations with Samudragupta, was the Kushān ruler of the north-west, and Raychaudhuri takes him to be a member of the Kushān dynasty of the north-west. In his opinion the Kshatrapas of Ujjain were meant by the foreign powers under the name Śaka-Muruṇḍas[15] (Muruṇḍa, a Śaka word = lord, Sk. *svāmin*). It is known from a Chinese source that the contemporary king of the Ceylonese (*Saiṁhalakas*) was named Meghavarṇa who, it is said, sent an embassy with presents to the Magadhan Gupta for seeking permission to found a monastery near the Bodhi-tree in Gayā, for the use of pilgrims from Ceylon.

Samudragupta performed the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, which was long in abeyance, undoubtedly after the completion of his round of conquests.

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[15] V. Smith's *Oxford History of India.* cf. fn. 1, p. 149. It may be noted here with advantage that the latest article by Dr. Sten Konow on "Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134" in *J. R. A. S.*, Pt. IV, 1932, pp. 249 ff, has thrown a flood of new light on the question of the various Śaka eras and the Śaka invasion of India which "started from Seistan to Sindh, and thence extended southwards, finally reaching Ujjayinī, where Wima Kadphises re-established Śaka power and in order to commemorate 'the Śaka reconquest of Mālawa' found an era which was practically identical with the Vikrama era",

That Samudragupta was a king of highly exceptional ability, possessing varied gifts, can be believed, even if one refuses to accept without some reservation the courtly phrases of the poet-laureate Harisheṇa. The image of the emperor, seated as a lyrist on some of his gold coins, bears testimony to the description of the panegyrist that the monarch was a skilful master in the science of music and could by his performances "put to shame the heavenly musicians Tumburu and Nārada". He possessed a very sharp and polished intellect by which he could even "surpass Bṛihaspati, the preceptor of the gods". He is also said to have been himself a poet of no mean order, for he obtained the title of *Kavirāja* ('king of poets'), by his poetical compositions from which even learned people drew much inspiration. He was a patron of the Muses. On account of his good nature his people were always ready to show extreme loyalty to his person and throne and he was very compassionate towards all. His mind was always busy with the thoughts of "deliverance of the poor, the miserable, the helpless and the sick". The celebrated Buddhist author Vasubandhu, to whom his father Chandragupta I commended Samudragupta in his early age, was highly honoured by this great king. To use the language of the late Dr. V. Smith, Samudragupta "was in fact a man of genius, who may fairly claim the title of the Indian Napoleon".

APPENDIX I

Samudragupta's accession and the Problem of Kācha

Chandragupta I does not seem to have abdicated in favour of his son Samudragupta. The reference in the particular verse in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription is simply to the selection the crown-princeship (*yauvarājya*) of Samudragupta by Chandragupta I and this can easily be done even by a reigning monarch.

In the first edition of this book I refrained from referring to Kācha as ever being a ruling member of the Imperial Gupta family, as it was not then possible to ascertain his relationship either with Chandragupta I or Samudragupta, which is yet a matter of conjecture amongst historians.

The coins bearing the name Kācha with the legend *kacho gām=avajitya divaṁ karmabhir=uttamair jayati* are attributed by some scholars to a king who was an elder brother of Samudragupta and that the latter occupied the royal seat after having killed the former. This view does not seem to be reasonable. The epithet *Sarvarājochchhettā* found on 'Kācha' coins rather indicate that he was most probably identical with Samudragupta himself. We feel inclined to agree with the view on this topic held by Allan, H. C. Raychaudhuri and others that Kācha was very likely the original name of the emperor Samudragupta who may have assumed the famous name Samudragupta after his conquest had extended upto the ocean.

APPENDIX II

The Problem of Rāmagupta

In the first edition of this book I consciously omitted to discuss in the main body of it the important question of Rāmagupta on account of want of full conviction that this person was ever a ruling member of the imperial Gupta family. But since then (1934) many historians such as Levi, R. D. Banerji, D. R. Bhandarkar, Altekar, Mirashi etc. have discussed this question in various books and journals[1], but the ultimate result of all discussions leaves the question yet an open one. We shall have yet to wait for the discovery of new epigraphic and numismatic evidence to corroborate the theory that Rāmagupta ever belonged to this royal family and that he also reigned though for a short time after Samudragupta and before Chandragupta II. It is yet difficult for us to tie up Rāmagupta with the reigning sovereigns of the imperial Gupta dynasty. Considering the possible high moral condition in the country during the most golden age of the Guptas it will be very hard to believe the other part of Rāmagupta episode, which refers to his fight with a Śaka king who invaded his kingdom and his ignominous offer of the hand of his own queen Dhruvadevī to the Śaka king and his younger brother Chandragupta's resentment at his imbecile elder brother's dishonourable offer and also his ultimate assassination of him by Chandragupta who is alleged to have thereafter usurped the throne and married his brother's widow, Dhruvadevī. The whole story has been based on the evidence of certain extracts from an old drama, named *Devī-Chandraguptam* by a poet Viśākhadatta, which itself however, has not been discovered and published in full. These extracts were first pointed out by Levi as occurring in a treatise on dramaturgy, the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, written by Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra belonging to a late period of history. But in that treatise also Rāmagupta is mentioned simply as a king (*rājā*) without any of the high titles in vogue in the Gupta period for indicating lord-paramountcy, and Dhruvadevī is also styled therein simply a *devī* and not a *mahādevī* that she really was. But the story cannot be dismissed wholly, as it, thus started, seems to have run also in later books and epigraphy such as the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara and the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I (A.D. 871) and the Cambay (A.D. 930) and Sangli (A.D. 933) plates of Govinda IV. Bāṇa says[2] : "Chandragupta hidden in the guise of a female, killed a Śaka king, lustful towards another's wife in his enemy's capital". The Sanjan plates (*E.I.* vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff) state that "the donor in the Kaliyuga, who was of Gupta lineage, having killed his brother, we are told, seized his kingdom and wife." And the Cambay and Sangli plates mention "one Sāhasāṅka who killed his elder brother and married his widow". It may also be noted in this connection that though no epigraphic evidence of any king of the name of Rāmagupta is available, there was, however, a discovery of his name in some copper coins collected by Sri Advani and others at Bhilsa.[3] The late Dr. Altekar was emphatic in taking these copper coins as evidence of suzerain power of Rāmagupta, as a member of the imperial Gupta line.[4]. The fabric and metal of these coins, however, indicate that they might have been issued by a local chief of Central India, called Rāmagupta. Rāmagupta of these coins did not necessarily have any connection with the Rāmagupta of the Gupta lineage. We agree with Dr. R. C. Majumdar that we must suspend our judgement upon the historical character of Rāmagupta, as it is not yet possible to pronounce it.[5]

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[1] See S. Levi (*J.A.*, *CCIII* pp. 201 ft), R. D. Banerji (*A.I.G.* pp. 26ff), D. R. Bhandarkar (*Malaviya Comm. Vol.* pp. 189 ff), H. C. Raychaudhuri (*P.H.A.I* 4th ed., p. 465), A. S. Altekar (*J.B.O.R.S*, XIV pp. 223 ff), V. V. Mirashi (*I.H.Q*, X, pp. 48 ; *I.A*, LXII, pp. 201) and Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*N.H.I.P*, vol, VI, pp. 161 ff).

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[2] अरिपुरे च परकलत्रकामुकं कामिनीवेशगुप्तश्च चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिमशातयत्—हर्षचरित, षष्ठ उच्छ्वास ।

[3] Recently K. D. Bajpai also has found a good number of coins of one Rāmagupta which bear close resemblance to the coins of the Nāgas and other local rulers of Mālwa. He is of the opinion that "Rāmagupta of the coins was no other than the brother of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya" (*Indian History Congress*, 24th session, Summaries of Papers, p. 13).

[4] *C.G.E*, pp. 162-164.

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[5] *N.H.I.P*, vol. VI, p. 165.

CHAPTER III

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA UNDER THE IMPERIAL GUPTA EMPERORS CHANDRAGUPTA II, KUMĀRAGUPTA I AND SKANDAGUPTA

CHANDRAGUPTA II—VIKRAMĀDITYA

(c. 61-94 G.E = c. A.D. 380-413)

Having enjoyed a long reign over a vast empire established by the strength of his own arms, Samudragupta passed away from the earth in the beginning of the fourth quarter of the fourth century. A.D. He was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II, known in early history and traditions by his title Vikramāditya, a title which is found on coins of various type issued by the monarch. There is reason to believe that Samudragupta had chosen Chandragupta II to succeed to the imperial throne from amongst many sons, just as he himself was so selected by his own father Chandragupta I. In the genealogical passage of some of the Gupta inscriptions, Chandragupta II is described as *tat-parigṛihīta*[1] i.e. "accepted (as successor) by him" (Samudragupta). The duration of his reign may roughly be ascertained from three of the five epigraphic records belonging to his reign which are dated. His accession may be taken to have occurred about A.D. 380[2] as is known from the Mathura pillar inscription which bears the date 61 G.E. (i.e. A.D. 380-81) and the regnal year 1[3]. His last known date is 93 G.E. (A.D. 412-13) which is afforded by the Sanchi Stone inscription.

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[1] Fleet—*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 4 and No. 31.

Two of the five inscriptions mentioned above are from the Udayagiri hill-cave, situated above two miles to the North West of Bhilsa, Madhya pradesh. One[4] of them is dated 82 G.E. (=A.D. 401-02). It records the dedication of two groups of sculptures, a four-armed Vishṇu and a twelve-armed goddess made by a chief of the Sanakānika tribe, a feudatory of *mahārājādhirāja* Chandragupta II (*Chandragupta-pādānudhyāta*) but, unfortunataly, his full name is not preserved, only the last component (*ḍhala*) of his name appearing legible. He describes himself as the son of *mahārāja* Vishṇudāsa, and grandson of *mahārāja* Chhagalaga. Probably, the latter two had some sort of political relation with Samudragupta, whose imperial sovereignty was acknowledged by this and other tribes (the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, Ll.21-23). The second Udayagiri inscription[5] is undated. Judged from the standard of palaeography and from the fact of the monarch having come in person, during his campaign of conquest of the whole earth (*kṛitsna-pṛithvī-jayārtha*) to this particular hill, where the other dated inscription of Chandragupta II exists, there can be no doubt that the Chandragupta of this inscription must be Chandragupta II, and not his grandfather of the same name. There is a latent allusion to his using the title of *vikrama*[6] in a verse of this inscription (verse 2), where we read that this monarch humbled down to slavery the rulers of the earth which was "won by him by the price of prowess" (*vikrama*). It records the excavation of a cave in honour of Bhagavān Śambhu, by a hereditary minister (*anvaya-prāpta-sāchivya*) of this *rājādhirāja* (Chandragupta II), who held the office of the Minister of Peace and War (*vyāpṛita-sandhi-vigrahaḥ*). This minister, an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra, whose name is Vīrasena, was a highly learned man, knowing fully the ways of society, and belonged to the Kautsa *gotra* ; but he was known to people by the name of *Śāba*. It appears that he was a Brahman by caste. However, it is stated that Vīrasena caused

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[2] The Mathura Pillar Inscription, *Ep. Indica* XXI, pp. 1-9. is dated in 61 G. E. (=380-381 A.D.), and also in the first or fifth regnal year of Chandragupta II. Vide *A.B.O.R.I* XVIII, pp. 166 ff, and *I.H.Q.* Vol. XVIII, p. 271.

[3] Dr. D. C. Sircar reads the regnal year, which is not clear, as *pañchame* and thus places the accession of the king in about A.D. 375-76. cf. *I.H.Q,* XVIII, p. 271.

[4] *Ibid*—No. 3.

[5] *Ibid*—No. 6.

[6] The other titles used by Chandragupta II in his coins were *Śrī-vikrama*, *Siṁha-vikrama*, *Ajita-vikrama*, *Vikramāṅka* and *Vikramāditya*.

this cave to be excavated when he visited this place in the company of his sovereign, during his campaign of conquest of the earth. There seems to be no doubt that the campaign referred to here alludes to the one, during which Chandragupta II conquered Mālwā and Surāshṭra along with Gujarat, which had previously been ruled by foreign Śaka chiefs. The first Udayagiri inscription is a proof that Mālwā, specially Eastern Mālwa, was under the Gupta rule in A.D. 401-02. Had the second inscription of the same place been dated, we would have got further evidence as to the time, when he probably proceeded against the Western Kshatrapas of Surāshṭra and Gujarat. Some light on the time of Chandragupta II's conquest of these provinces is thrown by the evidence of coins. The only date found on coins of Rudrasiṁha III, probably the last of the Western Kshatrapas, is 310+X or 300+X=A.D. 388+X[7] and the earliest date on the silver coins which Chandragupta II struck after his conquest of Surāshṭra, in imitation of the Kshatrapa coins of that province, is 90 or 90+X G. E.=A. D. 409 or 409-10. So, strictly speaking, it may be presumed

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7. Allan—*Catalogue* Intro., p. XXXVIII and Rapson—*C. A. & W. K.* pp. cxlix-cli, 192-4 The Sonepur hoard has a coin of Rudrasena III dated in the year (3) 12, cf. *Numismatic Supplement*, Vol XLVII, p. 96. But this may be a freak coin. If so, 310+X, the last date of Rudrasiṁha III should be considered as the last landmark in Śaka chronology.

that the conquest of Surāshṭra and Gujarat by Chandragupta II must have taken place sometime between A.D. 388 and 409. And this conquest of Surāshṭra and western India appears to be indicated by the Lion-slayer type of gold coins of the Emperor, Surāshṭra being an abode of lions. Both these provinces which were formerly under the foreign Śaka rulers (the Western Kshatrapas) were very wealthy and fertile and their annexation to the Gupta empire "opened up to the paramount power free access to the ports of the western coast" through which sea-borne commerce was carried on between India and Europe via Egypt. The influence of Samudragupta's conquests of other provinces was felt even by the Śakas, to one of whose dynasties the western Kshatrapas belonged ; but it remained for his son Chandragupta II to add Mālava and Surāshṭra to his paternal dominions. The name of the then Kshatrapa ruler slain by the Gupta emperor was most probably Rudrasiṁha III. Incidentally, as traditional scandal alluded to in the *Harshacharita*[8] of Bāṇabhaṭṭa of the 7th century A. D., says that a Śaka king was slaughtered "in his enemy's city" by Chandragupta who hid himself in the dress of his mistress, while the former was eager to enjoy the company of another man's wife. But this incident should probably be referred to Rāmagupta episode.

The Mathurā pillar inscription, mentioned above, refers itself to the reign of Chandragupta II, son of Samudragupta, with the titles *Bhaṭṭāraka*, *mahārāja* and *rājādhirāja*, for both the Gupta monarchs. The last two titles are, in the opinion of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, almost "an exact replica of *mahārāja* and *rājādhirāja* which the Kushāṇa kings bore". As Mathurā was "one of the most important districts of the Kushāṇa kingdom", Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that this inscription indicates the fact that Mathurā and the surrounding region were wrested from the Kushāṇas for the first time by Chandragupta II. The object of the inscription, however, was the installation of two images (Śaiva *liṅgas*) called Kapileśvara and Upamiteśvara in a hall of statues by one Uditācharyya in the names of two former Māheśvara teachers. The Gadhwa inscription[9] dated 88 G.E. (=A. D. 407-08), evidently belonging to the reign of Chandragupta II (though his name has disappeared from the stone), mentions Pāṭaliputra but the fragmentary nature of the record does not permit us to form any notion as to whether this city was the capital of Chandragupta II. We may agree with the view of the late Dr. V. Smith that "Pāṭaliputra probably continued to be the principal royal residence in the reign of Samudragupta, but there are indications that in the time of his successor, Ayodhyā was found to be more convenient as the headquarters of the government". The issue of the famous inscription of Samudragupta recording his conquests and its incision on the old Aśokan pillar situated in Kosām (in Allahabad district) make it all the more probable that the capital may have been removed towards Mid-India proper, probably to Ayodhyā, which was at best a secondary capital. Samudragupta might have had his own headquarters sometimes at Ayodhyā, where his son Chandragupta II probably had a mint; and it was really the premier city in the fifth century A. D. But even during Chandragupta II's reign Pāṭaliputra continued to remain a beautiful city with a very large population, and it was probably ruined by the second invasion of the Hūṇas in the sixth century A.D. in Northern India. Strangely enough "the city had long been a wilderness", when Yuan Chwang lived near it about A.D. 640 (i.e. about one century later). Another Gupta centre of administration was at Ujjain, which attained that position after Chandragupta II's conquests of Mālwā.

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[8] *Supra* , p. 40, fn. 2

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[9] *C.I.I.*, No. 7.

Epigraphic and numismatic evidences describe the monarch as *paramabhāgavata*. His leaning towards the god Vishṇu is indicated by his *Chakravikrama* type of coins.[10] But the eclectic nature of the emperor's rule is clearly indicated by an inscription which bears the date 93 G. E. (=A.D. 412-13). It is on the railing of the great stūpa at Sāñchi, known in ancient times by the name of Kākanādaboṭa. The object of the epigraph is to record the gift of 25 *dīnāras* and of a place called Īśvaravāsaka which appears to have been purchased, for this noble purpose, by a payment of the usual price as fixed in the *rājakula* by a donor, named Āmrakārdava, son of Undāna. The donor granted the above gifts with the approval of the *pañchamaṇḍalī* to the Buddhist monks of Ārya-saṅgha, who came from all quarters to the great monastery (*mahāvihāra*) of Kākanādaboṭa. It appears to be clear that the donation of the 25 *dīnāras* was to be regarded as a capital contribution never to be wasted, but half of the interest on this money was to be spent on the feeding of five monks (*bhikshus*) and the maintenance of a lamp in the *ratnagṛiha* i.e. the shrine of the Buddhist *triratna*, for the enhancement of all the virtues of *mahārājādhirāja* Chandragupta, who, as it appears from this inscription, also bore the popular name of Devarāja. According to some inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, Chandragupta II appears to have been known also by the name of Devagupta. The late Dr. Fleet wrongly took Devarāja of the inscription to be the name of the donor. The other half of the interest of the money mentioned in the above epigraph was to be spent for a similar purpose for augmenting his own merit. This Āmrakārdava seems to have been an officer in the service of *mahārājādhirāja* Chandragupta II, "whose favours gratified the object of his life" (*mahārājādhirāja-Chandragupta-pādaprasad=āpyā-*

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[10] *C.G.E.*, pp. 145 ff.

yitajīvita-sādhanaḥ) and he has shown to the world how a royal dependant should properly behave. That he was an officer of high military rank is evident from the epithet *anekasamar = āvāpta-vijaya-yaśaḥ-patākaḥ*, applied to him, which means that he "won the flag of fame of victory in many a battle." The name of the place of his residence is also recorded, but it cannot be made out with certainty. We cannot in any case assert dogmatically that Āmrakārdava was in the service of Chandragupta II in any part of Mālwā[11]. From an inscription[12] discovered in the Faizabad district in U.P., belonging to his son Kumāragupta I's reign and bearing date A.D. 436-37, we know that the Imperial ruler Chandragupta II had a Brāhman minister (*mantrin*) named Śikharasvāmin, who had the title of *Kumārāmātya*, he being the son of Vishṇupālitabhaṭṭa and grandson of Kuramāravyabhaṭṭa of the Chandogas, whose *gotras* were Aśva and Vājin. In the year 461 of the *kṛita* era (= Vikrama era) traditionally used[13] by the Mālava tribe (*Śrī-Mālava-gaṇ = āmnāta*) i.e. A.D. 404, a Varman king named Naravarman, using the title of *mahārāja*, was a ruler in western Mālwā region, having probably his headquarters in Daśapura, modern Mandasor, where a stone inscription[14] was discovered in 1913. From this inscription we learn that this king (*pārthiva*) *mahārāja* Naravarman, was the son of king (*kshitīśa*) Siṁhavarman, and grandson of king (*narendra*) Jayavarman. From the use of the subordinate title *mahārāja* used by this king, it can be easily inferred that Naravarman was a feudatory ruler under the imperial sway of Chandragupta II, for, epigraphic records establish that in A.D. 404, the date of this epigraph, it was this emperor who was on the imperial throne.

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[11] *E. I.*, Vol. X, p. 71.

[12] *E. I.*, Vol. X, p. 71.

[13] Cf. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's article "Vikrama Era" in *Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* (1917) pp. 189-94.

Chandragupta II aggrandised his power by matrimonial alliances with important dynasties. He had a daughter of the name of Prabhāvatī, born of the queen, named Kuveranāgā, and he gave her in marriage with Mahārāja Rudrasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty in the Deccan. Such kind of *santānasandhi* (matrimonial alliance by offer of the hand of a prin̄cess) is of great political importance. The son-in-law might have been of great assistance to Chandragupta II, during his campaign against Mālwa and Surāshṭra.

This section of the present chapter should not be closed without some reference to the general condition of our country at this time, about which a vivid picture was given by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien, who remained in Chandragupta II's territories for six years (A.D. 405-11), deeply engaged in studying Buddhism in the country of its birth and collecting Buddhist books and legends. The pilgrim took no proper notice of profane objects and events. It is not curious that, absorbed in his study of Buddhism and Buddhistic life in monasteries, the pilgrim did not mention in his account of India even the name of the great Gupta monarch Chandragupta II, not to speak of the feudatory kings under him, in whose territories he lived and moved. The only inference about the state of the country that can be drawn from a perusal of his account is that India enjoyed a most peaceful and prosperous condition, as a result of the Gupta sovereign's good administration, as the people were left to themselves without molestation of any kind, and allowed to enjoy liberty of conscience. He spent three years at Pāṭaliputra, where he studied Sanskrit. Although nowhere in his account did he describe this city as the capital of the reigning monarch, nor his palace in it, he did not forget to speak of the old Aśokan palace, still in existence there, as one which was, in his opinion, built with the assistance of spirits. He thought that the most elegant stone-carving and other sculpture-work in this palace could not be executed by human hands. He found two Buddhist monasteries there, one peopled by the Mahāyānists and the other by the Hīnayānists.[15] The discourses by the monks of this city were attended by students from all quarters of India. He discovered several lost works on monastic discipline at this place. The splendid procession of images[16], which every year paraded through the city on the eighth day of the sacred month, attended by singers and musicians, is referred to in his work. The institution of free hospitals in the country can be inferred from Fa-Hien's account of the excellent arrangement of such a hospital in Pāṭaliputra, which was endowed by benevolent and educated citizens. "Patients suffering from all kinds of infirmities," who came there, "are well taken care of, and a doctor attends them, food and medicine being supplied according to their wants." While describing the condition and character of the people of the Gangetic plain, called Mid-India by him, the Chinese pilgrim writes—"They have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates or their rules; only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay a portion of the gain from it. If they want to go, they go; if they want to stay on, they stay. The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances of each case". So we find that the administration of criminal justice was not harsh during Chandragupta II's reign, for we learn that men found guilty of repeated rebellion only suffered the amputation of their right hands. We are also told that the king's body-guards and attendants were all salaried employees. The Buddhist rule of life played such a great part even in the reign of this Gupta monarch, who was himself a Brāhmaṇical Hindu, a *paramabhāgavata* as he calls himself, that "throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions and garlic,—the only exception is that of the Chaṇḍālas". But it should be remembered that the revival of Brāhmaṇical Hinduism had already begun even before Fa-Hien's travel in India, and Buddhism was losing its hold gradually in many parts of the country, though the Chinese pilgrim either could not observe the decadence, or became somewhat partial towards his own faith. The emperor, however, bore a tolerant spirit to all sects. The pilgrim stated a very strange fact, when he wrote that "in buying and selling commodities" the people "use cowries". This must be interpreted to refer to the smaller transactions of daily life, which the Buddhist pilgrim probably observed. But scholars know that Chandragupta II struck gold coins of various types, of which the archer-type ones were common in currency. He saw a large number of Buddhist monasteries, where many monks resided, while he advanced in his travel from the Indus side to Mathurā. It is indeed a fact that Buddhism was still at its height in this part of India. He spoke very well of the administration in Mālwā, where people lived in peace and happiness under its benignity.

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[14] *E. I.*, Vol. XII, No. 25.

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[15] The recent excavations in Kumrahar (the old palace-site of Aśoka) reveal the existence of such monasteries in Gupta period.

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[16] Legge—*Travels of Fa-Hien*, Chap. XXVII, p. 79.

The pilgrim also visited several other cities in Eastern India—Gayā, Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu and Kuśinagar, but he found most of these holy places in a desolate condition. From Pāṭaliputra he went to Gayā, and from the latter place to Champā, the capital of Aṅga. From Champā the pilgrim proceeded to the port-town of Suhma (in the Midnapore district of Bengal), the same as the old town of Tāmralipti, (Tamluk), where he lived for two years, and arranged for the making of copies from manuscripts on Buddhist (*Tripiṭaka*) scriptures. At this place he saw 21 Buddhist monasteries. It is well known that just as Bhṛigukachchha (Broach) was the western port during the Gupta period for communication with the Egyptians, the Romans and other European nations of the West, so also Tāmralipti was the chief port in Eastern India, through which trade and other communications were carried on between India on the one hand and Indonesia, China and other eastern countries of Asia on the other.

KUMĀRAGUPTA I-MAHENDRĀDITYA

(94-136 G. E. = A.D. 413-456.)

After the death of Chandragupta II his worthy son Kumāragupta I, begotton on his chief queen

Dhruvadevī, acceded to the royal throne. The latest date[1], hitherto known, as belonging to the reign of Chandragupta II is 93 G. E. (A.D. 412-13) and the earliest[2] belonging to that of his son, Kumāragupta I, is 96 G. E. (A.D. 415-16). It is, therefore, very likely that Kumāragupta ascended the throne sometime during the interval between these two dates.[3] The late Dr. V. Smith[4] thinks that his accession took place in the year A.D. 413. The latest known regnal year of this king as obtained from inscriptions[5] is 129 G.E. (A.D. 448-49, and 136 G.E. (A.D. 455-56) from a silver coin[6]. It appears, therefore, that this emperor enjoyed a very long reign, one of more than forty years. Details of political events of his reign are difficult to obtain, but the large number of inscriptions and coins of his reign, discovered in various parts of Northern India, render it possible to form an idea of the events during his rule. It will be apparent below that during this monarch's reign the Gupta Empire suffered no diminution in the Western, Central or Eastern provinces. Rather some additions to his inherited dominions might have been made by him, since we know that Kumāragupta I, like his grandfather the renowned Samudragupta, performed a 'horse-sacrifice' (*aśvamedha*), certainly as an indication of his assertion of lord-paramountcy by successful military operations. His 'Aśvamedha-type' coins[7] with the legend *Śrī-Aśvamedhamahendra*' are evidence in point. The vast extent of dominions ruled over by this emperor is described[8] thus : he ruled over the earth, bounded on one side by the northern mountains (Sumeru and Kailāsa), and on the other by the borders of wood-lands, referring probably to the Vindhya forests on the south, and again by the seas on the remaining two sides. This definition of the extent of the empire refers itself to the year A.D. 436 i.e. about the middle of his reign. The single political event referred to in the inscription discovered at Mandasor in Madhya Pradesh is that king Bandhuvarman, son of king (*nṛipa*) Viśvavarman (also described as a *goptā*, governor), was the person who, as a subordinate to the imperial monarch Kumārgupta I, then governed (*pālayati*) the city of Daśapura, the capital of Mālwā, in the Mālava year 493 i.e. A.D. 437-38. In that year a magnificent and lofty temple of the sun-god was built with the wealth acquired by the exercise of their weaving craft, by the guild of silk-weavers, who had previously immigrated into that city from Lāṭa-*vishaya* (Central and Southern Gujarat), attracted by the virtues of the kings of that place. Another stone inscription[9] discovered at a village called Gangdhar near Mandasor, dated the year 480 of the era known as the *Kṛita* era[10] (= Mālava era), and therefore corresponding to the year A.D. 423-24 (i.e. 104 G.E.), records the fact that one Mayūrākshaka, a very able minister of king Viśvavarman, built a lofty and beautiful temple of Vishṇu, an abode of the divine Mothers, full of female ghouls (*dākinī-samprakīrṇṇaṁ*) and a well. The present writer has expressed his opinion elsewhere[11], that this Varman king of Mālwā, Viśvavarman, was a feudatory of Kumāragupta I, during the first part of the latter's reign and was later on (sometime within the next 13 years) succeeded on the throne of Mālwā by his son and successor Bandhuvarman. We cannot concur with the view of Mm. H. P. Śāstrī[12] that this Viśvavarman (and his father Naravarman) do not seem to have acknowledged any obligation or allegiance to the Guptas. Epigraphic evidence rather leads us to a contrary conclusion.

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[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 5.

[2] *Ibid*—No. 10.

[3] It may be noted here that in all likelihood Govindagupta, son of Dhruvasvāminī was the eldest brother of Kumāragupta I and he was placed in a high position of governorship in Mālwa and sometimes in Vaiśāli too, by his father Chandragupta II. But he might have died at an early age and thus Kumāragupta I got the oppurtunity of ascending the throne after his father's death (cf. I. A. XLI). Recently Professor Radhakrishna Choudhary has suggested that Govindagupta sat upon the throne after the death of his father which according to him took place sometime about G.E. 93, the last known date of Chandragupta II ; subjugated Mālwā and ruled as an independent monarch till G.E. 96 when Kumāragupta I ascended the throne. In other words, Professor Choudhary wants to place Govindagupta, 'a regular Gupta Emperor' between the intervening period G.E. 93 and G.E. 96, i.e. A.D. 412-13 and 415-16, the history of which period is wrapped up in obscurity. The suggestion though not unlikely cannot be accepted as certain because of the absence of positive evidences. For Prof. Choudhary's article see *P. I. H. C.*, 23rd Session, Aligarh, pp. 50-55.

[4] V. Smith—*E. H. I.*, p. 299.

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[5] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 11.

[6] *J. A. S. B.*, 1894, p. 175. Dr. A. L. Basham thinks that the date 136 (G. E.) on Kumāragupta's coin was due to an error on the part of the mint master and thus it is likely that "Kumāra died in A. D. 454 or perhaps even earlier." *B. S. O. A. S.*, XVII, pt. 2, pp. 366 ff.

[7] *C. C. B. M.*, Intro. p. LXXXIX and pp. 68-69.

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[8] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 18.

[9] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 17.

[10] D. R. Bhandarkar—"Vikrama era" in *Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, 1917, pp. 187-194.

According to certain Chinese texts, an embassy from Yue-ai (Moon-loved), king of Ka-pi-li country was sent to China in A.D. 428.[13] Mr. B. N. Mukherjee[14] who identifies Ka-pi-li country with Ḍavāka or Kāmarūpa suggests that one vassal of Eastern India might have tried to indicate his independence by sending an embassy to China.

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[11] *I. A.*, 1919, pp. 98-100.

[12] *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 218.

[13] *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 540; *J. R. A. S.* 1920, pp. 227ff; and *E. H. I.*, p. 316.

[14] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 175ff.

He has also suggested that the Rhinoceros-slayer type of coins of Kumāragupta I may indicate that Kumāragupta I might have suppressed any such aspirant vassal. The late Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri[15] observed that the assumption of the title of Vyāghraparākrama by Kumāragupta I may indicate his penetration into the tiger-infested forests beyond the Narmadā. Expansion of his empire toward the south may also be indicated by a find of 1935 coins in the Satara district. The late Dr. Altekar was of opinion that these coins might have been brought by some merchants.

Another historical information of almost the same period, furnished by an inscription[16] dated 117 G. E. (=A. D. 436-37) and incised on a stone *liṅga*, excavated from an ancient site called Bhārāḍhī Ḍīh in the district of Faizabad in U. P., situated near Ayodhyā, the premier city of the period, and a centre of political activity (probably, the second capital of the empire) is that Pṛithivīsheṇa was a councillor (*mantrī*) decorated with the title of *Kumārāmātya*, and was subsequently raised to the position of *mahābalādhikṛita* (Commander-in-chief) by *mahārājādhirāja* Kumāragupta I. This minister was a Brāhmaṇa by caste, and his father Śikharasvāmin was also a councillor (*mantrī*) with the same title of

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[15] *P. H. A. I.*, p. 570.

[16] *E. I.*, Vol. X, pp. 71-72 (No. 15, Karamadanda Inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta).

Kumārāmātya to *mahārājādhirāja* Chandragupta II. In this inscription is recorded a gift made by Kumāragupta I's minister, Pṛithivīsheṇa, for the worship of the Mahādeva, known as Pṛithivīśvara, dedicated after his own name, the donees appearing to have been certain Brāhmaṇas from Ayodhyā.

Four very important copper-plate inscriptions, not of the nature of ordinary royal grants of land, but forming a pecular kind of land-sale deeds recording, as it were, the State confirmation of sale of land transacted between Government and the purchasers who had to buy land on payment of prices at the usual rate prevailing in different localities, were discovered some time ago in the districts of Rajshahi and Dinajpur in North Bengal. They throw a considerable flood of new light on the political relation of the province of Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* (North Bengal) with the imperial Gupta house. All of them refer themselves to the reign of Kumāragupta I, whose paramount titles therein used are *parama-daivata*, *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirāja*. The first[17] of them dated 113 G. E. (=A. D. 432-33) records the gift of a purchased piece of land by a royal officer (*āyuktaka*) to a Sāmavedin Brāhmaṇa, named Varāhasvāmin. The second[18] records the sale by the Crown of one *kulyavāpa* of unsettled and untilled *khila-kshetra* to a

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[17] The Dhanaidaha copper-plate grant—*E.I.*, Vol. XVII No. 23, pp. 345 ff.

[18] *E.I.*, Vol. XV, No. 7, pp. 113 ff.

Brāhmaṇa named Karpaṭika, for the convenient performance of his *agnihotra* rites, and is dated 124 G. E. (=A. D. 443-44). The third,[18a] recording a sale by the State of some land to a person, evidently a Brāhmaṇa, for the maintenance of his five daily sacrifices (*pañcha-mahāyajñas*), and the fourth[19] recording a donation of a purchased piece of land to the temple of Govindasvāmin, are both dated 128 G. E. (= A. D. 447-48). The absence of any mention of the old, but neighbouring, country of Puṇḍravardhana, from the list of the countries of Āryāvarta in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, led us at one time to believe that this province of North Bengal formed from the beginning a part of the Gupta Empire, and was under its direct jurisdiction. Such an inference has now been strengthened by the discovery of the Damodarpur and the new Baigram plates of Kumāragupta I, which prove beyond doubt that during this monarch's reign the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) was a Gupta province, governed by the emperor's agent Chirātadatta, who enjoyed the use of the title *uparika*, and was appointed to this high office by the emperor himself. This governor in his turn appointed *Kumārāmātya* Vetravarman to administer from the town (*adhishṭhāna*) of Koṭivarsha the *vishaya* of the same name. This *vishaya* may be identified with the tract of country constituting the northern part of the modern district of Rajshahi and the southern part of Dinajpur, including also perhaps a portion of the district of Malda and Bogra. At least for four years (124-128 G. E.) we find *uparika* Chirātadatta acting as the governor of North Bengal under Kumāragupta I and *Kumārāmātya* Vetravarman as the *vishayapati* (District Officer) of Koṭivarsha. It appears to be an undoubted fact of history, therefore, that North Bengal formed an integral part of the Gupta empire. Hereby the north-eastern limit of the empire is definitely settled, North Bengal coming within the boundary of the empire, but Kāmarūpa (roughly the province of modern Assam) remaining as an outlying province ruled by *pratyanta nṛipatis* (as already known from the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta) who paid a certain kind of obedience to the Gupta sovereigns. The late Dr. V. Smith's identification[20], once regarded as probably correct, of the province of Ḍavāka with the Bogra (Bograha), Dinajpur and Rajshahi districts to to the north of the Ganges must be incorrect ; for these districts of North Bengal form the old *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana, governed by the agents of the Gupta emperors. From the mere use of the subordinate title of *mahārāja* with the name of Kumāragupta I, in the Mankuwar (in Allahabad District) stone-image inscpiption[21] of the year 129 G. E. (=A.D. 448-49), Dr. Fleet propounded the theory that towards the end of Kumāragupta I's reign the emperor was reduced to feudal rank, owing to the attacks of the Hūṇas and the Pushyamitras. Troubles the emperor must have had, in the western part of his vast dominion ; but there is no clear evidence to show that he was actually reduced to the rank of a feudatory ruler. The two Damodarpur and the new Baigram plates, on the contrary, prove that even in 128 G. E., so near the end of his prolonged rule, Kumāragupta I was ruling in full glory, at least in eastern India, through the agency of governors. In the light of the evidences now available from these North Bengal inscriptions, it may be believed that the copperplate grant from North Beṇgal, dated 113 G. E. (=A. D. 432) and discovered in village Dhanaidaha (in Rajshahi District) referred to the province of Puṇḍravardhana being under a governor appointed by that Gupta monarch, and that the *vishaya* of Khāḍā (ṭā ?)pāra formed, like the Koṭivarsha *vishaya*, a part of the same province, but the mutilated condition of the plate does not permit us to be very confident on this point. This plate also appears to be a landsale document, recording the purchase of one *kulyavāpa* of cultivated land by a royal officer or *āyuktaka* (his name being lost), paying the price at the usual rate prevalent in the *vishaya* of Khāḍā (ṭā ?)pāra and the donation of the purchased piece of land by the same person to a Sāmavedin Brāhman, named Varāhavāmin. The object of the newly discovered Baigram charter dated 128 G. E. is to record the purchase of three *kulyavāpas* of revenue-free *khila* (fallow) fields and two *droṇas* of *sthala-vāstu* (home-stead) land belonging to the State, in two localities connected with Vāyigrāma, viz. Trivṛitā and Śrīgohālī, by two persons named Bhoyila and Bhāskara, for the purpose of making a donation thereof, for meeting the expenses of materials, such as perfumes, incense, lamp, flowers etc. for the daily worship of and occasional repairs to the temple of Govindasvāmin (evidently a Vishṇuite deity), established by their father Śivanandin. The name of the place from where the charter was issued is Pañchanagarī, and the chief administrative officer in charge of the *vishaya* Court (*vishayādhikaraṇa*), who had been approached by the two intending purchasers of State-land is named Kulavṛiddhi and styled *Kumārāmātya*. Their application was granted and land was sold to them in accordance with the determination of the Government record-keepers (*pustapālas*), after proper survey and measurement by the customary reeds (*nalas*). The members of the *vishayādhikaraṇa*, the other Government officers and the chief householders of the villages concerned were addressed by the head of the *vishaya*, regarding this sanctioned transfer of land, on receipt by Government of price at the fixed rate of two *dīnāras* per *kulyavāpa*, which prevailed in that particular *vishaya*, and they were directed to maintain the grant as a permanent endowment, according to the principle of *akshaya-nīvī*.

[18a] *E.I.*, Vol. XV, p. 132 ; XVII, p. 193.

[19] *E.I.*, XXI, pp. 81 ff. The Kalaikuri copperplate inscription dated 120 G.E. (cf. *I.H.Q.*, XXIX, No. 1, pp. 12 ff.) is of a similar nature and records the donation of lands as an *akshyayanīvī* to three Brāhmaṇas.

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[20] *E. H. I.*, p. 285.

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[21] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 11, p. 46.

It seems quite probable that, like Koṭivarsha of the Damodarpur grants and Khāḍā (ṭā ?) pāra of the Dhanaidaha plate, this Pañchanagarī was one of the *vishayas*, into which the old *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana was divided. It cannot be definitely ascertained if the village named here as Vāyigrāma is the village of the same name as mentioned in No. 4 of the Damodarpur grants. If that be so, this must have been situated somewhere on the boundary line between the two *vishayas* of Koṭivarsha and Pañchanagarī. At the same time it seems quite certain that the village Baigram, where the plate was discovered, is identical with Vāyigrāma (L. 2), mentioned in the plate itself. Hence it may be assumed that the localities referred to in the plate belong to places in and near Hili in the district of Bogra.

The most striking point of historical importance that can be mentioned in this connection is that in this (Baigram inscription) also, as in the other North Bengal grants of the Gupta period, we find the same administrative system in foree during the age, viz. that the *vishayapati*, who had the use of the usual title of *Kumārāmātya*, was appointed to be in charge of the *vishayādhikaraṇas* by the Gupta emperor, undoubtedly on the advice and approval of the higher officer of the larger unit, the *bhukti*, who enjoyed the title of *uparika-mahārāja*. The prevalence of such an administrative relation between the different Government authorities, central and provincial, is supported more by the other North Bengal inscriptions of the period than by the new one. Thus Kulavṛiddhi the *vishayapati* is described as (directly) meditating the feet of His Majesty (referred to by the word *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda*). But this probably alludes to the fact, that the appointment of such an administrative head of a *vishaya* by the *bhukti* governor required the sanction of His Majesty, the imperial Gupta monarch. The position of *Kumārāmātya* Kulavṛiddhi here must be exactly the same as that of *Kumārāmātya* Vetravarman of Koṭivarsha, appointed to his responsible post by *uparika* Chirātadatta, who himself enjoyed favour of the imperial ruler, *parama-daivata*, *parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Kumāragupta I, as mentioned in Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2 of 124 and 128 G. E. respectively. Kulavṛiddhi and Vetravarman must, therefore, have been contemporary officers, under the same sovereign, in the two separate *vishayas* in North Bengal. Attention may be drawn to the curious fact that in this new grant we do not find any reference to the Board of Advisers mentioned in Damodarpur grants Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5, as having aided the *vishayapatis* of

Koṭivarsha in the administrative work of the *vishayādhikaraṇa*, the four members forming that Board being (1) the *nagara-śreshṭhin* (the President of the town guild of bankers), (2) the *prathamasārthavāha* (the representative of the merchant class), (3) the *prathama-kulika* (the representative of the artisan class) and (4) the *prathama-kāyastha* (probably, the chief scribe, the head of the Government officials). The absence of such reference in this new document of the year 128 G. E. (Damodarpur grant No. 2 of Kumāragupta I's reign being also of the same date) belonging to a different part of Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* is difficult to explain, excepting on the tentative theory that Koṭivarsha (of Damodarpur grant No. 2) was perhaps a more important *vishaya* where Government had to keep better administrative arrangement for the *vishayādhikaraṇa* than in Pañchanagarī of this grant, which may have been a newly formed district at the time. It may also be noted that in this inscription we do not come across the name of the *bhukti* governor, known from two of the Damodarpur grants (i.e. Nos. 1 and 2). Reference may here be made to some other epigraphic records belonging to the reign of Kumāragupta I. The earliest[22] of these, discovered at village Bilsad (in Eta district in U.P.), is dated the year 96 "of the augmenting victorious reign" of Kumāragupta I (*abhivarddhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsara*) and

[22] *C. I. I.*. Vol. III, No. 10.

records the fact of accomplishment, in the temple of the god Svāmi-Mahāsena (Kārttikeya), of the erection of a 'gateway with flight of steps' (*pratolī*), and the establishment of 'a charitable hall or alms-house' (*dharmasattra*), by a certain person named Dhruvaśarman. Three partly broken stone inscriptions[23] discovered in the same place, viz. Gadhwa (in Allahabad District), appear to refer themselves to the reign of Kumāragupta I—all recording certain gifts, fixed in *dīnāras* and *suvarṇas*, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of *sattras* or charitable halls or alms-houses, or for the purpose of providing food and garments for people seeking shelter therein. One of these inscriptions (Fleet's No. 9) is dated 98 G. E. (=A. D. 417-18) and another (Fleet's No. 64) contains (in l. 5) the name of Anantaguptā, whom one may feel tempted to identify with Anantadevī, the name of Kumāragupta I's queen, mentioned in the Bhitari seal[24] inscription as the mother of *mahārājadhirāja* Purugupta. The cave-temple inscription[25] discovered in Udayagiri and dated the year 106 (=A.D. 425-26) during the ever-increasing rule of the family of kings (*nṛipa-sattamānāṃ*) of the Gupta lineage (*Guptānvayānāṃ*), records the installation by a Northerner, named Śaṁkara, a disciple of the ascetic *āchārya*

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[23] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 8, 9 and 64.

[24] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVIII, Part I, p. 89.

[25] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 61.

Gośarman of the lineage of *āchārya* Bhadra, of the image of the chief Jina Pārśva, one of the 23 Tīrthaṅkaras, the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra, who is regarded by Professor Jacobi to have been an historical personage and the real founder of Jain religion.[26] The installation of another Jain image at Mathurā, during the reign of Kumāragupta I, is mentioned in an inscription[27] dated 113 G. E. (=A. D. 432-33). Evidence of gifts made by different religious sects during this period can also be corroborated by such records as e.g., the Mankuwar inscription[28] on the pedestal of a seated image of the Buddha installed by a Bhikshu of the name Buddhamitra in the year 129 G.E. (=A. D. 448-49), during the reign of Kumāragupta I. Professor K. P. Pathak[29] has proposed to identify this Buddhamitra with the person of the same name, who was the teacher of Vasubandhu. Another Buddhist inscription[30] recorded in 131 G. E. (=A.D. 450-51), which should be assigned to the reign of Kumāragupta I, refers to a grant of twelve *dīnāras* as *akshayanīvī*, made by a Buddhist *upāsikā*, named Harisvāminī, the wife of *upāsaka* Sanasiddha. The grant was made to the community of the faithful Buddhists

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[26] *C. H. I.*, Vol. I, p. 158.

[27] *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 210.

[28] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 11.

[29] *I. A.*, 1912, p. 244.

[30] *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 62.

(Āryyasaṅgha) coming from all quarters to the great convent of Kākanādavoṭa i. e. the great stūpa at Sañchi—for the purpose of daily feeding one *bhikshu*, who would enter the Āryyasaṅgha ; and this was to be done by means of the interest that would accrue from the investment. It also refers to certain other similar grants of three and one *dīnāras* respectively, for maintaining lamps in the *ratnagṛiha* and the *Chatur-Buddhāsana* (the seat of the four Buddhas). Another Buddhist inscription[31] from Mathurā, incised on the pedestal of an image, which was the gift of one, named, Devatā, described as *vihārasvāminī* (either a lady-Superintendent of a *vihāra* or the wife of a *vihārasvāmin*), is dated 135 G. E. (=A. D. 445-55) and probably belongs to to the end of the reign of Kumāragupta I. The above few grants indicate clearly that the Gupta monarchs who were themselves Vaishṇavas (*Parama-bhāgavatas*) showed a tolerant spirit towards all religious sects then prevalent in their dominions.

Towards the end of his rule Kumāragupta I had to face the invasion of the Pushyamitras. It appears that he died on the battle-field and the message of victory was carried by his son Skandagupta to his bereaved wife (vide Bhitari Pillar inscription). In the light of contemporary evidence it is difficult to accept the theory of Altekar[32] that the Apratigha-type coins of Kumāragupta[33] are indicative of his abdication.

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[31] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 63.
[32] *C. G. G. C. B. H.*, p. CXII.

SKANDAGUPTA-KRAMĀDITYA.

(136-148 G. E. = A. D. 455-467.)

From epigraphic records it appears that Kumāragupta I had more than one son. One of them was named Skandagupta, but his mother's name is nowhere found mentioned. Another was named Purugupta, whose mother's name occurs as Ananta devī the Mahādevī (Chief Queen), in the Bhitari seal inscription.[1] Skandagupta was a prince endowed with kingly qualities (*nṛipatiguṇa-niketaḥ*)—and renowned for his mighty intellect and heroic nature. Hence he was most dear to his father who, there is reason to believe, took him to the battle-field during his wars against the many external enemies, who had been threatening the stability of the Gupta empire in many parts, especially it its western provinces, towards the close of his (Kumāragupta I's) reign. In treatises on Hindu Politics[2] we find it stated in clear terms, that as a general rule the king should appoint as Crown-prince a son, usually the eldest son begotten on the Chief Queen, if he be worthy, accomplished and duly trained. As installation on the royal throne is prohibited in the case of a wicked son, although the latter be the only son,—it will not be wrong to suppose that in case of want of a good son, the king could undoubtedly reserve the throne for any other meritorious prince, born of any of his other wives. Kauṭilya[3] advises a king to appoint a qualified and able son to the rank of an heir-apparent (*yauvarājya*) or to the office of the Commander-in-chief of the royal army (*saināpatya*). We have said before that Skandagupta as *yuvarāja* accompanied his father to the field of battle against foreign foes, especially the Pushyamitras. A careful study of the Bhitari Stone-pillar[4] and the Junagadh Rock[5] inscription will convince one that Kumāragupta I was killed in battle, during his strenuous conflict with the Pushyamitras. Skandagupta installed the image of Vishṇu (Śārṅgin), and allotted a village to the god and raised the Bhitari pillar bearing the inscriptional record, to commemorate his late father. Probably it was at Bhitari in the Ghazipur district of U. P. that one of the fights between the royal party and their enemies took place. The Hindu traditional idea[6] is that one killed in battle attains heaven. Here also there is explicit mention in the Junagadh inscription that Kumāragupta I did "attain the friendship of the gods" (*pitari surasakhitvaṁ prāptavaty=ātmaśaktyā*, 1. 4) i.e. obtained heaven. The king himself could not live to witness the destruction of his powerful enemies which was wrought by his heroic son, Skandagupta. It is, therefore, that we find it so very pointedly described in the Bhitari epigraph, that Skanda had to run to his mother, who was full of tears (certainly on account of her husband's death), and announce the news of his victory in the war, and his success in restoring "the shaken fortunes of the royal family" (*viplutāṁ vaṁśa-Lakshmīṁ*), just as Kṛishṇa did to Devakī. The father was not then alive (*pitari divam=upete*), to congratulate his heroic son on this occasion.

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[33] Prof. Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta who has shown that the Apratigha coins originated from the coin-type of the Kushāṇa king Huvishka representing Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena, draws our attention to an interesting fact "that the names Skanda-Kumāra of the coin-type of Huvishka were identical with those of the Gupta crown-prince and the emperor respectively" *I. H. Q.* Vol. XXXV, No. 3, pp. 265-70.

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, 1889, pp. 84-105.

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[2] Cf. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*—"न चैकपुत्रमविनीतं राज्ये स्थापयेत्।" Bk. 1. Chap. 17, and *Kāmandaka-nītisāra*—"विनीतमौरसं पुत्रं यौवराज्येऽभिषेचयेत्। दुष्टं गजमिवोद्वृत्तं कुर्वीत सुखबन्धनम्" V. 6. Chap. 7.

[3] Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*—"आत्मसम्पन्नं सैनापत्ये यौवराज्ये वा स्थापयेत्।" Bk. I, Chap. 17.

[4] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 13.

[5] *Ibid.*, No. 14.

Purugupta the son of Mahadevī Anantadevī might have thought, on receipt of the news of his father's death, that he would have now a fair chance of succeeding the king on the imperial throne, but that was not to be ; for, Skandagupta had already established his claim to it by restoring "the shaken royal fortunes of his family", and he had hence no difficulty in occupying the throne, probably with the approval and consent of the counsellors and ministers, as also of the people. The implication of verse 5 of the Junagadh inscription is that after the death of the king and achievment of victory over the foreign enemies viz. the Pushyamitras, the Hūṇas and Mlechchhas by Skanda, there arose a struggle for the succession amongst Skandagupta, Purugupta and other sons of Kumāragupta I, if there were any, and that "the goddess of royal fortune," on serious consideration of Skanda's virtues, selected him to be her lord "by discarding the other princes" (*vyapetya sarvān = manujendraputrān*), as unfit for the royal office. It was his success in utterly defeating the enemies of the empire and re-establishing the imperial sway, that ultimately secured the throne for Skandagupta, although Purugupta and probably other princes could more legally stand as claimants for it. But the struggle referred to above does not appear to be a fratricidal one, as understood by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, whose view has been refuted by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri[7]. We agree with Dr. Ray Chaudhuri in his opinion that there was no bloodshed amongst the princes, whether born of the same mother or not. This aspect of political affairs, in the beginning of Skandagupta's reign, would, it was though corroborate the present writer's former view[8] that Purugupta was the first king of a new line of rulers (a branch of the imperial Gupta dynasty), who were allowed by Skandagupta and his successors to enjoy a small kingdom, somewhere in the eastern portion of the Gupta empire, perhaps in South Bihar. It may be remembered in this connection that Tīrabhukti had been under *mahārāja* Govindagupta (a son of Chandragupta II), and later on it must have passed into the hands of his successors or other imperial agencies, like governors (*uparikas*). It still continued as a Gupta province for a long period. We have seen before that Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) also was ruled during the former reign by a provincial ruler appointed by the imperial house. The evidence of the later Buddhist treatise, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[9] is also clear that immediately after Kumāragupta I (Mahendra), his son Skanda (the king whose name commenced with the letter *Sa*) and not Puraguta, ascended the imperial throne. He is also described as *tadpādānudhyāta* in relation to

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[6] *Cf.* e. g. the *Bhagavadgītā* Chap. II, V. 37—"हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गम्" *etc.*

Also *Cf.* the following verse from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. X. Chap. III, "यान् यज्ञसङ्घै स्तपसा च विप्राः स्वर्गैषिणः पात्रचयैश्च यान्ति। क्षणेन तानप्यतियान्ति शूराः प्राणान् सुयुद्धेषु परित्यजन्तः॥"

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[7] *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 572 ff.

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[8] See author's articles on the Damodarpur copperplate inscriptions, *E. I.* Vol. XV, pp. 119-20.

[9] *Cf.* the following verse :—"समुद्राख्यो नृपश्चैव विक्रमश्चैव कीर्त्तितः। महेन्द्र नृपवरो मुख्यः सकाराद्यमतः परम्॥" Chapter 53, p. 628 (ed. Gaṇapati Śāstrī).

Kumāragupta I, in the Bihar Stone Pillar inscription.[10]

The Bhitari pillar inscription is unfortunately not a dated record, but it undoubtedly refers to the events of the early part of Skandagupta's reign. We have already discussed above his victory over his enemies as a Crown-prince. A few other points of historical importance yet remain to be mentioned. There is a clear hint in this epigraph that during the last year of his father's reign many enemies of the Empire "rose up with an agreeable desire for extending their conquests" (*svabhimata-vijigīshā-prodyatānāṁ*) against Kumāragupta I. These enemies troubled the emperor and the goddess of royal fortune became unstable, so the Crown-prince (Skanda) had to make preparations for meeting them on the field of battle. Skandagupta had "to restore the shaken fortunes of his family" (*vichalita-kula-Lakshmī-stambhanāya*), by fighting against two distinct sets of enemies, who threatened the Gupta empire by their attacks and incursions, viz. the Pushyamitras and the Hūṇas. These Pushyamitras (Yudhyamitras, according to H. R. Divekar, cf. *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. 1., pp. 99 ff.) are identified by some scholars with the Pushpamitras of the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* and they are placed by Fleet in Central India, on the Narbuddā side, and by Smith further towards the North. They are described in this inscription as very powerful and resourceful (*samudita-bala-koshān*). During Skanda's operations against these foes, he "had to pass a whole night by lying down on the earth as his couch" (*kshiti-tala-śayanīye yena nītā triyāmā*). The terrible conflict with the Hūṇas, referred to in this inscription (in lines 15-18), ended presumbly in Skandagupta's victory. It was after conquering the Hūṇas that he was successful in finally establishing his rule in place of his late father's, and this fact is evident from the epithet *supratishṭhita-śāsanaḥ* (in line 18), as used by the emperor at the time when he caused the pillar to be erected in memory of his father. Mr. Allan's view is that the invasion of the Hūṇas is possibly to be dated about A. D. 455, and by no means later than A. D. 458, if they are to be identified with the Mlechchhas of the Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta. If any case it appears to us that the victory over the Hūṇas was achieved in the beginning of Skandagupta's reign.[11]

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[10] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 12.

We have strong reasons to believe, on the evidence contained in Damodarpur Plates Nos. 1 and 2 and the new Baigram plate, belonging to Kumāragupta I's time, and in Damodarpur Plates Nos. 3 and 4 and the Paharpur plate, belonging to the reign of Budhagupta, that the province of North Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana) must have remained in the sole and direct possession of Skandagupta (136-148 G. E.), Kumāragupta I's son and successor, and of Kumāragupta II of the Sarnath inscription, who was probably Skandagupta's son and successor, and that the same system of provincial Government must have continued in North Bengal, for at least about a century, as will be shown later on. Skandagupta also kept his dominion intact in the West against the attacks and invasions of the Hūṇas and the Mlechchhas who were defeated by him sometime about 136-138 G.E.[12] This rock inscription of Skandagupta's time also testifies to the fact, that under the Guptas the provincial governors were appointed by the emperors, and that the former again had the power to appoint local rulers. We learn from that inscription, that after having thoroughly defeated his enemies, and "having conquered the whole earth" (*jitvā pṛthivīṁ samagrāṁ*), i.e. having regained his lost provinces, Skandagupta set himself to appoint many provincial governors (*śarvveshu deśeshu vidhāya goptṛṝn*—1. 6), especially for the western provinces, where the emperor required the services of able and trustworthy persons for the work of administration after the Hūṇa troubles. His anxiety to appoint a qualified governor for the proper protection of the land of the Saurāshṭras (Kathiawar), and his sense of relief and comfort when he succeeded in selecting one of his own officers (ministers), Parṇadatta by name, as the governor of that western province (*pūrvvetarasyāṁ diśi Parṇadattaṁ niyujjya rājā dhṛitimāṁs = tath = ābhūt*, 1. 9) are graphically described in that inscription. There is also clear indication that Parṇadatta at first declined to accept the offer of the high post to which the emperor was pleased to appoint him. But the emperor's repeated requests (*arthanayā kathaṁchit*) forced him to accept it. This governor Parṇadatta again appointed his own son Chakrapālita as the city governor (*svayam=eva pitrā yaḥ saṁniyukto*, 1. 12), just as we see from the Damodarpur plates that the rulers of the province of Puṇḍravardhana, themselves appointed by the emperors, used to appoint the *vishayapatis* of Koṭivarsha, who had their headquarters in the town of that name. It is clear then that the position of the governors in the eastern provinces (e.g. Puṇḍravardhana) of the imperial Guptas corresponded to that enjoyed by the governor of the western provinces (e. g. Surāshṭra and Mālwā). Skandagupta, while appointing the governors of his western provinces, did not apparently deviate from the principle followed by his father with regard to the eastern provinces (Damodarpur Plates Nos. 1 and 2) and perhaps also by his father's ancestors. It must be remembered that this inscription is an eulogistic description of the work of reparation of the old and famous lake or dam named Sudarśana in the peninsula of Surāshṭra. The embankment of the dam burst, in consequence of excessive rains and rise of high floods in the Palāśinī and other rivers belonging to the neighbour ing hills, Raivataka and Ūrjayat (old name of mount Girnar), on the night of the sixth day of Bhādra in the Gupta era (Gupta-prakāla) 136 (= A. D.) 455-56. The restoration was effected in the next year 137 G. E. by the orders of the city-governor Chakrapālita, at an enormous expense of money (*dhanasya kṛitvā vyam=aprameyaṁ*) from the royal coffers, and the work was complete within two months' time. One cannot forget in this connection the historical fact that this same Sudarśana lake was once destroyed a little over three hundred years before i.e. in A. D. 150 by a violent rain-storm in the reign of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman[13]. This dam was first ordered to be constructed by the Vaiśya Pushyagupta, provincial governor under

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[11] The Bayana hoard includes many coins of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta, but only one coin of Kramāditya (Skandagupta). This indicates that the hoard was deposited in the beginning of Skandagupta's reign, probably due to the troubles created by the Hūṇas.

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[12] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 14. The Hūṇas and the Mlechchhas were the same and the former probably came to India through the Bolan Pass region in Quetta, as Prof. Jagannath believes (*P. I. H. C.*, 21st session, pp. 160-161). In that case Surāshṭra would have been the first province of the empire to be exposed to the invasion of the Hūṇas. Hence Skandagupta had to think so much over the appointment of a worthy governor there.

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[13] *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 37 ff.

Chandragupta Mauryya, and afterwards adorned with conduits by the Yavana ruler, Tushāspha, under Aśoka. The first reparation was undertaken by Rudradāman's able minister Suviśākha by name, a Pahlava by race. However, it may be noted here that there is a latent hint in the opening verse of the Junagadh inscription that Skandagupta retrieved his royal fortunes from the hands of his enemies, just as the god Vishṇu (in his Vāmana incarnation) snatched away the same from the demon king Bali. It is true that the emperor had to establish his own rule with much difficulty, in those parts of his empire which slipped away from the hands of his father Kumāragupta I. There is a reference to the fact, that his fame, due to his grand victory over the barbarian races, was proclaimed even by his enemies residing in the countries of the Mlechchhas (*Mlechchhadeśeshu* l. 4). It is not very easy to identify these Mlechchhas, but it appears they were the outlandish tribes of foreign origin living in the western parts of India as mentioned in the Purāṇas. Some scholars take them to be the Maitrakas or the Hūṇas. The latter identification seems to be most probable. Similar to the position of the *vishayapatis* of Koṭivarsha was that of Sarvvanāga[14], the *vishayapati* of Antarvedi (the country lying between the Ganges and the Yamunā) in 146 G. E.. Another feudatory ruler, perhaps of some central province, under Skandagupta, who may be mentioned in this connection, was Bhīmavarman[15] ruling in 139 G.E.. The discovery of coins[16] of Skandagupta, in some of the Lower Ganges districts, may be regarded as a proof, though somewhat insufficient, that his sway prevailed in parts of Bengal other than Puṇḍravardhana.

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[14] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 16.

The Bihar inscription[17] of Skandagupta's time indicates clearly the prevalence in Eastern India of the worship by the people of the deity Skanda (Kārttikeya, Mahāsena), and the divine Mothers.[18] The existence of this broken pillar-inscription discovered at Bihar, the chief town of the Bihar sub-division of the Patna district, proves beyond doubt that Skandagupta's royal jurisdiction remained unabated in Magadha (at least in North Bihar including the modern Patna district). The second part of the epigraph is evidently a record of a village field granted as a perpetual endowment (*akshayanīvī*). Had it been preserved in its complete form, this record would have clearly proved, that the procedure of application for the purchase of Crown-land, made to the emperor by any officer or private person, was almost the same as we find in the Damodarpur and other North Bengal land-sale documents, discovered and explained by us. The first part of this mutilated epigraph seems to have recorded the name of Kumāragupta I's wife,[19] which is not found mentioned in any of the other inscriptions, and hence we are in the dark about the name of Skandagupta's mother. It is not certain to which part of the country the town of Ajapura (l. 25) mentioned here belonged.

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[15] *Ibid*, No. 65.

[16] *J. A. S. B.*, 1910 (Vol. V).

[17] *C. I. I.* Vol. III, No. 12. Some scholars think that it belongs to the time of Purugupta.

[18] The Supiya record which refers to Mahārāja Mahendrāditya and his son Vikramāditya (Skandagupta) indicates the existence of mother Shashṭhī in Central India, *P.A.I.O.C.*, 1943-44, pp. 587-89.

There is no doubt that the later years of the reign of Skandagupta were peaceful. Evidence in support of this fact can easily be supplied from two other records viz. the Kahaum (in Gorakhpur district, U. P.) Stone Pillar inscription[20] dated the year 141 G. E. (=A. D. 460-61) and the Indor (in Bulandshahr district, U. P.) Copper-plate grant[21] dated the year 146 G. E. (=A. D. 465-66). The first of them states clearly in the introductory verse that the year 141 G.E. belonged to the peaceful (*śānte*) reign of the Gupta monarch Skandagupta, described herein as "equalling Śakra" (*Śakropamasya*) and "lord of hundreds of kings" (*kshitipaśata-*

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[19] *Cf.* line (3)—[*Sva*]*s* = *aiva yasy* = *ātula-vikrameṇa Kumāragup* [*t*]*e*[*na*].

[20] Fleet—*Op. cit.*, No. 15.

[21] *Ibid.* No. 16.

pateḥ), "whose hall of audience was shaken by the wind produced by the bowing heads of hundreds of kings", "whose fame spread" in all directions and whose opulence was of the first order". Such description only befits a monarch when his rule is in a settled condition. The epigraph records the installation of five stone images of the Jaina Tirthaṁkaras (*arhatām* = *ādikartṛīn*) by a person named Madra who was generally devoted to Brāhmaṇas, preceptors (*gurus*) and ascetics (*yatis*), on a lofty stone-pillar in the excellent village of Kakubha (ancient name of Kahaum).

The second inscription refers to the year 146 G.E., which belongs to the ever-increasing victorious reign (*abhivarddhamāna-vijaya-saṁvvatsara*) of *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja* Skandagupta. During the administration of the *vishayapati* Śarvvanāga at Antarvedi, one Chhandoga Brāhmaṇa named Deva-vishṇu, who was versed in the four Vedas, made an endowment, out of which the expense of oil for an uninterrupted maintenance of a lamp before the image of the Sun-god, established in the east of Indrapura by two Kshatriya merchants of the same town should be met. The money was invested with the guild of oilmen (*tailika-śreṇī*), living in that town, headed by their chief Jīvanta. The oil to be supplied perpetually was to weigh two *palas* (for a day ?).

The Gadhwa (in Allahabad district, U.P.) Stone inscription[22] which records the installation of an image of Vishṇu under the name of Anantasvāmin and the endowment of a grant, and which bears the date 148 G.E. but has the ruler's name broken away in it, may be regarded as having reference "to the augmenting victorious reign" (*pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvvatsara*) of Skandagupta.[23]

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[22] *Ibid*, No. 66.

[23] In the opinion of Cunningham, some of the heavy-standard gold coins of Skandagupta are very much debased in metals. This fact has led some scholars to hold that the closing period of Skandagupta's reign was undergoing financial stringency. Smith suggested that this economic crisis was due to the second Hūṇa invasion in Skandagupta's time. Dr. B. P. Sinha, however, has pointed out that a chemical analysis of heavy-standard coin of Skandagupta carried out in the British Museum has shown that the coins concerned are not actually very much debased. Hence the theory of a second Hūṇa invasion is untenable. (*D. K. M.*, p. 426).

CHAPTER IV

THE SUCCESSORS OF SKANDAGUPTA AND THE DECLINE AND DOWNFALL OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTA RULE

In this chapter we should at the outset discuss the most controversial question of who reigned immediately after the emperor Skandagupta, whose last recorded date (on silver coins and on stone inscription) is known to be 148 G.E. One of the three Sarnath inscriptions, engraved on the pedestals of three Buddha images, examined personally by the present writer in March, 1916, bears the date 154 G. E., while Kumāragupta was ruling the country (*bhūmiṁ śāsati Kumāragupte*) ; and one of the other two belonging to the reign of Budhagupta (*pṛithivīṁ Budhagupte praśāsati*) bears the date 157 G. E. This Kumāragupta of the Sarnath inscription, whose reign has hitherto been unnoticed, appears to have succeeded Skandagupta on the imperial throne. He should now be called Kumāragupta II.[1] It may be supposed that like

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[1] Dr. S. Chattopādhyāya's view (*E.N.H.I.*, p. 184) that the Kumāragupta of Sarnath inscription "was not a sovereign, but simply a *goptā* although he may have belonged to the Imperial family" does not seem to be convincing. It is to be noted here that the *bhumi-śāsana* by Kumāragupta is the same thing as pṛithivī-*śāsana* by Budhagupta, only metrical exigencies required the statement of the phrase *bhumiṁ*

Chandragupta II, grandson of Chandragupta I, Kumāragupta II (of the Sarnath inscription) was a grandson of Kumāragupta I, grandsons being often called by the name of their grandfathers and this view reecives the support of dates also. It seems to be right to hold that his reign was a short one, *circa* 150-156 G. E. or even less. In all probability the relation between Skandagupta and Kumāragupta II was that of father and son, and Budhagupta is known as reigning in 157 G. E., i.e. within only three years of the Sarnath inscription of Kumāragupta II. It has now been clear from the Nalanda Seal inscriptions that Budhagupta was the son and successor of Purugupta. So the Kumāragupta of about A. D. 530, son and successor of Narasiṁhagupta, and grandson of Purugupta of the Bhitari seal and Nalanda Seal inscriptions[2] now becomes Kumāragupta III. The usual view, hitherto held by

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śāsati Kumāragupte in Kumaragupta's Sarnath epigraph. We also do not agree with Dr. Raychaudhuri (*P.H.A.I.*, p. 591) that Kumāra of the Bhitari seal is identical with Kumāragupta of the Sarnath inscription of the year 154 (G.E.), as the former comes to reign after two or three more sovereigns, Kumāra being Narasiṁhagupta's son and successor. So Kumāragupta of the Bhitari and Nalanda seals must necessarily be designated as Kumāragupta III.

[2] Smith and Hoernle—*J. A. S. B.*, 1889 (pp. 84-105); and Nalanda Seal of Vishṇugupta, *E.I.*, Vol. XXVI, No. 30.

scholars, headed by Vincent Smith must now be abandoned. The numismatic evidence obtained from the Bharsar hoard, which contained coins of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, Kumārgupta I, Skandagupta and Prakāśāditya led Allan[3] (rightly, we should suppose), to draw "a natural deduction that Prakāśāditya succeeded Skandagupta, and that the hoard was buried in this reign". After refuting Dr. Hoernle's view that Skandagupta and Purugupta were identical, a view which long held the field of historical research in India, Allan thus concluded[4] : "It is highly improbable that Purugupta was called both Vikramāditya and Prakāśāditya so that we must attribute these coins (Prakāśāditya coins) to some king, probably a Gupta, whose name is not yet known, and who must be placed about the end of the fifth century A.D." It may be taken tentatively that it was Kumāragupta II, presumably son and successor of Skandagupta, who used the title *Prakāśāditya* in his coins. We suspect, as will be shown later on, that Kumāragupta II had a second *āditya* title (*Śakrāditya*). If our supposition proves after future discoveries to be true, the last clause of Allan's conclusion quoted above will have to be modified a little ; for Kumāragupta II could not reign later than 156 G.E., as 157 G. E. refers to the reign of a later sovereign, Budhagupta. Again, if the year 156 G.E. belongs to Kumāragupta II's reign, it may rightly be supposed that the Khoh copper-plate grant[5] of Mahārāja Hastin, wherein there is a reference to the endurance of the Gupta dynasty and sway (*Gupta-nṛipa-rājya-bhuktau*, Ll. 1-2), belonged to Kumāragupta II's time. Any other contingency will assign this particular inscription to the time of Budhagupta, whose feudatory this Mahārāja Hastin (whose known dates range between 156-191 G.E.) undoubtedly was. One known event can, with some certainty, be attributed to the time of Kumāragupta II. The temple of the Sun-god at Daśapura (in Mālwā), which was built in Mālava era 493 i.e, 117 G.E., by the guild of silk-weavers immigrant from the Lāṭa *vishaya*, while Bandhuvarman was governing that city as Kumāragupta I's feudatory, was restored (*saṁskṛitaṁ*) by the same guild in Mālava era 529, i.e. 153 G. E. as we know from the Mandasor stone inscription.[6] The late Dr. Fleet wrote thus: "This second date (529 Mālava era) is, of course, the year in which the inscription was actually composed and engraved ; since we are told at the end that it was all composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi and the engraving throughout is obviously the work of one and the same hand." Hence it may be taken as true that the restoration of this temple of the Sun-god of Daśapura, which fell into disrepair under other kings (as described in the inscription), took place very probably during the reign of Kumāragupta II, when we have reasons to believe, the western provinces (e.g. Mālwā) were still under Gupta sway, and that the great poet Vatsabhaṭṭi, whose intellectual attainments are so evident from his excellent composition of this inscription, flourished in the same reign. We strongly believe that Purugupta reigned for a very short period not immediately after Skandagupta as some scholars think, but after the reign of Kumāragupta II.

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[3] Allan—*Op. cit.* p. li.

[4] *Ibid*, p. lii.

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[5] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 21.

[6] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III., No. 18.

We shall now show below that the genealogy of the imperial Guptas still continued through Skandagupta and Purugupta for a period of about three quarters of a century, and the Gupta empire did not perish after the death of Skandagupta, as has so long been held by historians. I think the presumption of a renewed attack on the Gupta dominions by the Hūṇas (c. A.D. 465-70), made by Smith[7] and others, should be modified, as Professor S. Chattopādhyāya[8] has shown that the Hūṇa rule could not have commenced in India before 190 G. E. i.e., A.D. 510. Skandagupta's victory in his first battle with the Hūṇas was a very decisive one, and it secured the general tranquillity of all parts

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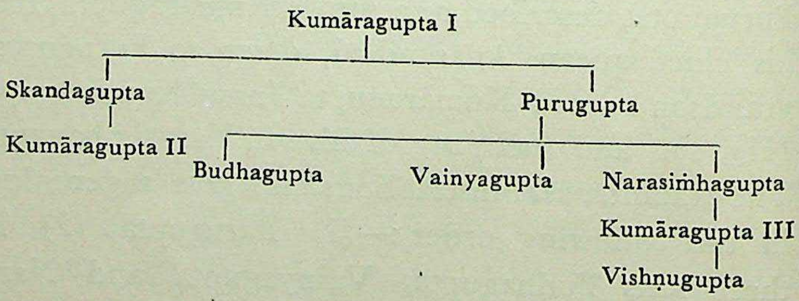
[7] *E.H.I.*, p. 310.

[8] *E.H.N.I.* p. 187.

(western as well as eastern) of the Gupta empire till the time of Budhagupta (whose known dates range from 157 to 175 G.E.). The Sarnath image inscriptions, the Damodarpur plates and the Nalanda Seals may serve as evidence to show that the imperial Gupta line after Skandagupta ran through Kumāragupta II and later through Purugupta and his successors—Budhagupta, Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta III and Vishṇugupta and also probably Bhānugupta (whose parentage is yet unknown) till at least 224 G.E., the date of Damodorpur plate No. 5, i.e. till A.D. 543-44, if not later. But the Bhitari seal inscription referred to above, which gives a genealogy of the early Gupta dynasty for nine generations, does not contain the name of Skandagupta, but carries the genealogy through Purugupta, described as a son of Kumāragupta I by his chief queen Anantadevī, down to Purugupta's grandson named Kumāragupta (now Kumāragupta III), son and successor of his son Narasiṁhagupta. The Nalanda seal inscriptions also give a genealogy in the following order :—(1) Purugupta, (2) his three sons Budhagupta, Vainyagupta and Narasiṁhagupta, (3) the last one's son Kumāragupta and (4) Kumāragupta's son Vishṇugupta.

Budhagupta, son and successor of Purugupta held supremacy not only over North Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana) in the east (cf. Damodarpur Plates Nos. 3 and 4), Benares (cf. Sarnath image inscription) in the middle, but also over Mālwā in the west. It has been stated before that Kumāragupta II held imperial sway over Central and Western provinces. It will be shown below that during Budhagupta's reign the Gupta power was in full height of splendour. Then we have evidence of benefaction by Purugupta's third son (Bālāditya), e.g. his building of the famous brick-temple in Nalanda, the chief seat of Buddhist learning in those days. The other parts of the Gupta empire, including North Bengal and perhaps the whole of Bihar also, continued under the sovereignty of the Guptas.[9]

9. The following genealogical table may illustrate the relationship between the Gupta emperors according to our view :


Kumāragupta I
Skandagupta
Kumāragupta II
Purugupta
Budhagupta
Vainyagupta
Narasiṁhagupta
Kumāragupta III
Vishṇugupta

May we suppose that the five patrons of Nalanda *Vihāra* mentioned in the Chinese records (the *Sī-yu-ki*, the *Life* and the *She-kia-fang-che*) viz. (1) Śakrāditya, (2) Buddhagupta, (3) Tathāgatagupta, (4) Bālāditya and (5) Vajra (*-āditya* ?) are to be identified respectively with (1) Kumāragupta II or Purugupta, (2) Budhagupta, (3) Vainyagupta, (4) Narasiṁhagupta, and (5) Kumāragupta III ?

The Bālāditya who is mentioned by Yuan Chwang[10] as the father of another king named Vajra appears to have been the same person as Narasiṁhagupta of the Bhitari seal. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri[11] is of opinion that these two were different persons, his reason being that Bālāditya, mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim, came immediately after one Tathāgatagupta. But the relation between them is not clear in the Chinese versions, and Watters' rendering[12] also does not point out any political or family relation. Depending on the genealogy obtained from the Nalanda seals[13] of Budhagupta and Vishṇugupta we think that the five kings mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim as having built and added to the structures in the Nalanda monastery, are all Gupta monarchs. Śakrāditya may have been an additional appellation of Kumāragupta II, son and successor of Skandagupta according to our view; or it may have been the *āditya* title of Purugupta. And we may be quite certain that Tathāgatagupta was Vainyagupta as suggested by some scholars.[14] We also think that like the

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[10] Watters—*Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 164-165; and Beal—*Life of Hiuen Tsang*, pp. 110-111.

[11] *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 299-300.

[12] Watters—*Op. cit.*, p. 104.

[13] *E. I.*, Vol. XXVI and *I.H.Q.*, 1943, p. 272.

[14] See Dr. B. P. Sinha's *D.K.M.*, p. 100 and Dr. S. Chattopādhyāya's *E. H. N. I.*, p. 186.

biruda Bālāditya for Narasiṁhagupta, the appellation Vajra may have been an *āditya* title (Vajrāditya) of his son Kumāragupta III. But we must wait for future discoveries to verify such views.

We first fully expressed our own view on the question of the genealogy and succession of Gupta kings after Skandagupta, in our article forming an edition[15] of the five Damodarpur copper plates. Since then it has been criticised by four scholars viz., R. D. Banerji[16], R. C. Majumdar[17], H. C. Raychaudhuri[18] and N.K. Bhattasali[19]. In support of his contention, Dr. Majumdar referred to the opinion of the late Vincent Smith[20], the late R. D. Banerji and Panna Lall[21]. Mr. Panna Lall's article was published in January 1918, and Smith's acceptance of his conclusions was announced in 1919. But although the present writer, while contributing in 1916 to the pages of the *Ep. Ind.* his article (published in 1919-1920) on the above-mentioned Gupta plates, had no opportunity to go through their papers, we now feel inclined to abandon our former view on the possible reconciliation between the then apparently contradictory materials on genealogy, obtained from the Sarnath and Damodarpur inscriptions on the one hand and the Bhitari seal text on the other. But after the discovery of the Nalanda seals we shall have to revise our former views about the relation and place of the later Imperial rulers whose names were disclosed chronologically from them and the Bhitari seals. It now seems that the indication is clear that the Imperial Gupta dynasty included three Kumāraguptas. It may be held now that the Imperial line, headed by Purugupta, and running through his sons Budhagupta, Vainyagupta and Narasiṁhagupta and his grandson Kumāragupta III and his great grandson Vishṇugupta, continued to rule yet for about half a century in an unbroken line of succession. But it is to be pointed out here that Budhagupta could not have come after Narasiṁhagupta and his son Kumāragupta as thought by Panna Lall, Smith, Raychaudhuri. They all think that the name Kumāragupta in the two sets of documents represents one and the same person, and he must be called Kumāragupta II. To us it seems quite abnormal that, between 148 G. E. (the last known date of Skandagupta) and 157 G. E. (the date of Budhagupta in the Sarnath inscription) *i. e. within the brief space of nine years*, we should find three reigns crammed in, viz. those of Purugupta,

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[15] *E. I.* Vol. XV, pp. 118-122.

[16] *A.B.O.R.I*, Vol. I, pp. 67-80 ; and *E. I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 83ff.

[17] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII, 1921, No. 3, pp. 249-255.

[18] *Op. cit.*, pp. 296-300.

[19] *Dacca Review*, 1920, pp. 50ff.

[20] *J. B. A. S.*, 1919, pp. 260-262.

[21] *Hindusthan Review*, January 1918 (Reprint).

Narasiṁhagupta and Kumāragupta. Dr. Raychaudhuri cites other cases of such short reigns, but they may be treated as entirely exceptional. We do not either consider the view of Mr. Panna Lall wholly supportable. The late Dr. V. Smith's defence of his view, that the alleged defeat of the Hūṇa king, Mihirakula, by Bālāditya is to be discarded as unhistorical, undertaken only to push back the date of Kumāragupta II, is weak, and there is reason to believe that he was afterwards inclined to change his opinion. In his letter dated January 7, 1917, addressed to this author on the latter's communication of the results obtained from the study and decipherment of the Damodarpur plates, he wrote: "It is clear that a hitherto unrecorded reign of Kumāragupta II, *circa* 150-156 G. E., came in after Skanda. This No. II in all probability was a grandson of K.G.I. (Kumāragupta I), and died young and childless. The K.G. (Kumāragupta) of about A.D. 530 now becomes No. III.......The Gupta list will require considerable revision". In a second letter dated, Oxford, 12. 5. 18, and written to the present writer on receipt of the advance copy of the proofs of his paper on the Damodarpur plates, the learned Doctor remarked: "What you say deserves the utmost attention, I hope in time to be able to study your observations carefully". The opinion of Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, that Purugupta was a child of 4 or 5 years, when Kumāragupta I died and Skandagupta succeeded him seems reasonable. Purugupta came to the throne later only after Skandagupta's son Kumāragupta II had died young and childless. During the second quarter of the sixth century A.D. when the Imperial Gupta line was proceeding towards the decline of regal power the later Guptas of Magadha were aspiring to independence. The first few rulers of this dynasty appear to be only local chiefs, probably under the rulers of the imperial line. After the end of Kumāragupta III's reign, the dynasty began to grow in royal power. We shall also show subsequently that it was Jīvitagupta I, the third chief of the 'Later Gupta' line, who first found opportunity to assert his sovereign power in Magadha ; and this he could do only after a complete disappearance of the imperial Gupta line. We also think that the first three Maukhari chiefs were probably vassals under the imperial Guptas, and held sway as local rulers in the Ayodhyā region, in the first half of the sixth century, during the troublous times due to the fresh Hūṇa inroads and gradual rise of Yaśodharman of Mālava.

It may be said that some sort of a solution of the hitherto most controversial question of later Gupta genealogy has now been possible to arrive at after a re-examination of new facts brought to light by the discovery of the Nalanda Seal inscriptions.

The next very important question that may now be discussed is, who is the Budhagupta of Damodarpur Plates Nos. 3 and 4? These two plates, of which the dates are unfortunately cut off and lost, show that, like Kumāragupta I (Damodarpur Plates Nos. 1 and 2), Budhagupta also used the imperial titles of *parama-daivata*, *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirāja*, and bestowed favours on his own dependants, the governors of the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana who were appointed by the sovereign himself. We have evidence to show that during this emperor's rule there was at least one change of government in North Bengal. From Plate No. 3 it is seen that *uparika-mahārāja* Brahmadatta was governor of Puṇḍravardhana whereas from Plate No. 4 we learn that *uparika-mahārāja* Jayadatta was so. We have shown that of the two governors of Puṇḍravardhana under Budhagupta, viz Brahmadatta and Jayadatta, the latter comes later in time than the former. Under the governorship of Jayadatta, the local administrator for the *vishaya* of Koṭivarsha was the *āyuktaka* Śaṇḍaka (or Gaṇḍaka). Here therefore we find the most important historical fact, that North Bengal continued under the royal jurisdiction of the imperial Gupta monarch Budhagupta. It remained a Gupta province even under the next emperor (Damodarpur Plate No. 5).

For the present the earliest limit for Budhagupta's time cannot be put later than 157 G.E. (=A.D. 476-

77); for the Sarnath inscription shows clearly that Budhagupta was the reigning monarch, when the Gupta year 157 had expired,—thus,

Guptānāṁ samatikrānte sapta-pañchāśad=uttare
Śate samānāṁ pṛithivīṁ Budhagupte praśāsati.

According to Professor K. B. Pathak's calculation,[19] this inscription belongs to the current Gupta year 158. Another copper-plate grant[20] (a landsale document of the type of Damodarpur grants) of the Gupta period, discovered in 1927 by the late K. N. Dikshit of the Indian Archæological Department, during the excavations of the great temple at Paharpur, in the Rajshahi district of North Bengal, is found to have been issued from Puṇḍravardhana (its head-quarters, *adhishṭhāna*), and dated the 7th day of Māgha, in the Gupta-Saṁvat 159 (=A.D. 478-79). Although the name of the reigning emperor at the time is not specified in it by name, but only referred to by the word *parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, there can be no doubt that the charter belonged to the reign of Budhagupta. Before Hargreaves' discovery of the Sarnath inscription, and ours of the Damodarpur plates, the only reference to Budhagupta that had been known was the mention of him as a king, on the Eran Stone

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[19] *Vide* p. 204 of Professor K. B. Pathak's article, "*New light on the Gupta Era and Mihirakula*"—*Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1917.

[20] *E. I.*, Vol. XX, No. 5, pp. 59 ff.

Pillar inscription[21], bearing the date 165 G. E. (= A. D. 484-85), and on some silver coins,[22] one[23] of which bears the date 175 G. E. (= A. D. 494-95). This Eran stone pillar inscription contains two most significant and clear expressions, viz.,

(1) "*Bhūpatau Budhagupte*", 1. 2 ("while Budhagupta was the ruler on earth") ;

(2) "*Kālindī-Narmadayor = mmadhyaṁ pālayati lokapāla-guṇair = jjagati mahārāja - śriyam = anubhavati Suraśmichandre cha*", Ll. 3-4 ("and while Suraśmichandra, enjoying in the world the glory of a Mahārāja on account of his qualities as a Lokapāla, a regent of one of the quarters, was governing the country lying between the Kālindī and Narmadā").

The coins referred to above imitate the types of the silver coinage of the imperial ruler Skandagupta and have on the reverse the portrait of a peacock with wings and tail outspread, as first adopted by the imperial monarch Kumāragupta I, and on the obverse the legend, befitting a paramount sovereign, "*Vijitāvanipatiḥ Śrī-Budhagupto divi jayati.*" The existence of these coins and the pillar inscription ought to have been sufficient warrant for historians to hold that Budhagupta was an imperial Gupta monarch, having feudatory chiefs like Suraśmichandra and others, under him, to rule over different provinces of Northern India ; and they ought to have examined Cunningham's view that he was on the imperial throne of the Guptas and "may have reigned from about A. D. 480—510"[24], and that "there is sufficient evidence to prove that his sway was equally extensive"[25]. These remarks of the great archæologist are now turning out to be approximately true ; for the Sarnath inscriptions, the Damodarpur and Paharpur plates of Budhagupta's time and the Nalandā seal also testify to the fact, that this emperor's rule included the eastern as well as the western provinces of the extensive Gupta dominion. We have seen in Damodarpur plates Nos. 3 and 4 that Budhagupta held imperial sway over North Bengal, which was governed by his own dependent officers, and that he had in his imperial possession the kingdom of Mālwā (more particularly the vast tract of land between the Kālindī and Narmadā). It is easy to see that the position of *mahārāja* Suraśmichandra, governing the land lying between the Yamunā and the Narmadā, may have been exactly similar to that enjoyed by the *uparika-mahārājas* Brahmadatta and Jayadatta, the governors of the province of Puṇḍravardhana. Just as, according to the Damodarpur Plate No. 4, the *āyuktaka* Śaṇḍaka (or Gaṇḍaka), carrying on the administration of the *vishaya* of Koṭivarsha from the *adhishṭhāna* (town) of that name, was under the authority of Jayadatta, the governor of Puṇḍravardhana, so also, as we have reason to think, the *mahārāja* Mātṛivishṇu of the Eran stone pillar inscription of Budhagupta's time, "who has been victorious in battle against many enemies" (*aneka-śattru-samara-jishṇunā*, l. 7) was a district officer (*vishayapati*) under the authority of Suraśmichandra, the governor of Mālwā. The truth of this remark may be ascertained from the other Eran stone Boar inscription[26] of Toramāṇa's time, which discloses the fact that in the first year of this Hūṇa chief's rule in that portion of Āryyāvarta (Mālwā), Dhanyavishṇu (now deceased, *svarggatasya*, l. 6) built a temple (in which the Boar-incarnation of Bhagavān (Nārāyaṇa stands) ; and that he built it in his own *vishaya* of Airikiṇa (*śilā-prā* [*sādaḥ*] *sva-vishay* [*e*] = *sminn Airikiṇe kāritaḥ* l. 7). There seems then to be no doubt that the *mahārāja* Mātṛivishṇu, Dhanyavishṇu's elder brother, was the *vishayapati* of the *vishaya* of Airikiṇa in the year 165 G. E. (i.e. A. D. 484-85), when Suraśmichandra was Budhagupta's governor in Mālwā and the adjacent tracts of land. A city, also of this name, Airikiṇa, (the modern village Eran in the Khurai Sub-Division of the Sagar District in the Madhya Pradesh), is mentioned in the Eran Stone inscription[27] of Samudragupta. Hence we may say that this old *vishaya* of Airikiṇa had continued to be a Gupta territory from the time of Samudragupta till at least 165 G. E. of Budhagupta's reign; and it seems very probable that it afterwards passed into temporary possession of the Hūṇa *mahārājādhirāja* Toramāṇa, whose supremacy was apparently acknowledged by Dhanyavishṇu, the younger brother of Mātṛivishṇu. So the imperial ruler Budhagupta's supremacy in the western portion of the Gupta empire is proved. The historical insight of Fleet led him to presume[28] that "these two kings Budhagupta and Bhānugupta were of the early Gupta lineage, though possibly not connected by direct descent with Skandagupta", and that[29] "Budhagupta comes chronologically immediately after Skandagupta, Bhānugupta somewhat later". These remarks of the great scholar nearly approached the historical truth, as we have shown above. Budhagupta comes chronologically, though not immediately, after Skandagupta, but after Kumāragupta II, presumably a son and successor of Skandagupta and there is no reason why we should not now consider him to have belonged to the early Gupta lineage. But in no way was there

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[21] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 19.

[22] *C.C.B.M.G.D.*, p. 153 and Intro., p. cv.

[23] *Ibid*, p. 153, Coin No. 617.

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[24] Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 162.

[25] *Ibid*, pp. 162-63.

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[26] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 36.

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[27] *Ibid*, No. 2, p. 20.

[28] *Ibid*, Intro., pp. 1-2.

[29] *Ibid*, Intro., p. 1.

any ground for the supposition that Budhagupta's[30] "territory lay between the Jumnā and Narbadā" only, or that there was ever a separate dynasty[31] known as "the Guptas of Eastern Mālwā," as wrongly believed by Hoernle, Smith, Allan and others. We should no longer be justified in holding the view[32] that Budhagupta and Bhānugupta "were the heirs of Skandagupta in that (i.e. Mālava) region" only, and that "Budhagupta was a ruler of some importance", having held part at least of the territory in which they (i.e. his coins) had been current". Those views must now be rectified in the light of the new discoveries. All that we obtain as historical truth from the Eran stone pillar inscription mentioned above is that Budhagupta was the imperial "ruler of the earth", and that it was his feudatory governor Suraśmichandra's (and not his own) territory that lay between the Yamunā and the Narmadā. From the Sarnath inscription of this monarch's time and from his coins obtained there, it may plausibly be concluded that Benares also was subject to his sovereign authority. The fact, discovered from the Damodarpur and Parharpur plates and the Nalanda seal of Budhagupta's holding sway over North Bengal supplemented by the fact, already known, that he held similar sway at least till 165 G.E., over Mālwā and over Benares, will enable us to revise the theory[33] hitherto generally held by scholars, that the Guptas lost their sway over the western dominions from the time of Skandagupta.

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[30] *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 135 (*vide* Vincent Smith's paper on the *Coinage of the Early Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India*).

[31] *C.C.B.M.G.D.*, Intro., p. lxii.

[32] *E.H.I.*, p. 314.

From the various records in hand (cf. Nandanpur Copperplate grant of G. E. 169 = A. D. 488-489; Vide E.I., Vol. XXIII pp. 52-56) we find that Budhagupta was on the imperial Gupta throne at least during the years from 157 G. E. to 175 G.E. (i.e. from A.D. 476-77 to A. D. 494-95). In the light of the new documents the most significant expression, "*gupta-nṛipa-rājya-bhuktau*" ("during the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings"), which occurs in some of the grants of the Parivrājaka *mahārājas* Hastin and his son Saṁkshobha, may now be rightly explained. These two subordinate kings were undoubtedly under Gupta allegiance, and the kingdom of Ḍabhāla or possibly Ḍabhala, the older form of Ḍāhala (modern Bundelkhand), which had come down to them by inheritance, together with all the country included in the eighteen forest kingdoms, was governed by them as contemporaries of Budhagupta, and probably of Bhānugupta also, as will be shown below. The Khoh plate[34] of Hastin, dated 163 G. E., must belong to the time of the paramount ruler Budhagupta. It is not unlikely that the *mahārāja* Jayanātha of Uchchhakalpa, near Hastin's kingdom, was also a feudatory chief owing allegiance to Budhagupta, although no mention is made in his inscriptions of the ruling imperial Gupta sovereign. The copper-plate inscription[35] of this chief, dated the year 174, which was taken by the late Dr. Fleet[36] to belong to the Gupta era, must have belonged to the reign of Budhagupta. However it may now be said with certainty that at least till the year 175 G.E. the western provinces of the early Guptas were intact, and that they had not begun to lose their sway and influence over them. It is evident that Budhagupta's reign was long and flourishing. Commenting on the expression *Gupta-ṇripa-rājya-bhuktau*, referred to above, Fleet propounded the view, that the Guptas were still in full power, during the fourth quarter of the fifth century A.D., and thus wrote : [37] "This expression is of importance, in showing clearly that the Gupta dynasty and sway were still continuing." It may now be supposed without doubt that, except during the first few years, the reign of Skandagupta was as glorious as that of his predecessors, and the assumptions made by the late Smith,[38] that Skandagupta was "forced at least to succumb to the repeated attacks of the foreigner" about A. D., 470 and that his death may have "occurred in or about the year 480 A. D.," are contradicted by the new discoveries at Sarnath, Damodarpur and Paharpur. The Gupta empire rather continued to flourish for many years in its accustomed glory under Skandagupta's successors, Kumāragupta II, Purugupta and Budhagupta and their successors.

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[33] *E.H.I.*, p. 311, and Intro., p. xlix.

[34] *C.I.I.*, Vol. III., No. 22.

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[35] *Ibid*, No. 26.

[36] *Ibid*, p. 118.

[37] *Ibid*, Intro., pp. 20-21.

[38] *E.H.I.*, pp. 310-11.

In Damodarpur Plate No. 5 only a part of the ruling emperor's name is given, the most important portion before the family surname *Gupta* being cut off from the plate and lost. From the size of the characters used, it appears that the portion of the copper lost at the end of line 1 could not contain more than two letters. This Gupta emperor is found to have been ruling in 224 G. E. (= A. D. 543-44) and, like Kumāragupta I and Budhagupta in the different plates, to have used the imperial titles *parama-daivata*, *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirāja*. It may be hoped that future discoveries will acquaint us with his name. At first we presumed to take it to be Bhānugupta, whose sovereignty may have continued at least till A. D. 543-44 if not still later. Whatever the name may have been of this Gupta monarch, whose rule continued in the North-Eastern provinces of the early Gupta empire, till some time after the first quarter of the sixth century A. D., it is now known that he also, like his predecessors, bestowed his royal favours upon the governor of the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana, who used the usual title of *uparika-mahārāja*, but who in this case appears to be the emperor's own son (*Rājaputra-deva-bhaṭṭāraka*). This royal governor, in keeping with the administrative system prevalent under the early Guptas, appointed Svaymbhūdeva as the *vishayapati* of Koṭivarsha. It is evident then that so late as A. D. 543-44 the early Gupta rule continued intact in the eastern province of the empire. But the emperor's appointment of his own son as governor of Puṇḍravardhana may be supposed to point to the fact, that the time was a troublous one for the empire, many parts of which, especially in the west, had by this time already been lost. We have seen before that in the Gupta year 165 Budhagupta wielded supremacy over the vast tract of land between the Yamunā and Narmadā, and that under his own governor Suraśmichandra, Mātṛivishṇu, was the *vishayapati* of Airikiṇa. But we have also seen that this Mātṛivishṇu's younger brother, Dhanyavishṇu owed allegiance to the Hūṇa *mahārājādhirāja*, Toramāṇa (whose first regnal year is mentioned in the Eran Boar-inscription[39]), and not to any Gupta ruler, who may have been on the imperial Gupta throne at that time. So it is quite reasonable to think that towards the close of Budhagupta's reign

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[39] *C.I.I.*, Vol. III., No. 36.

(*circa* 180 G. E. according to Professor Pathak), the decline of the glory of the imperial Gupta line could be marked to some extent. The Hūṇas, though once utterly defeated about half-a-century before by Skandagupta, may have continued from time to time to disturb the Gupta rulers and in all probability, made a fresh attack in the west under their chief Tormāṇa, who succeeded in establishing himself in Mālwā and Surāshṭra. It was perhaps during this time that the old Gupta province of Surāshṭra threw off the Gupta yoke, under Bhaṭāraka of the Maitraka clan, who may have paid tribute to the Hūṇa chief. But the Gupta sovereign had still some supremacy over the central provinces of the empire ; for in the Majhgawan copper-plate inscription[40] of *mahārāja* Hastin, dated 191 G. E. (A. D. 510-11), and in the Khoh copper-plate inscription[41] of Hastin's son, Saṁkshobha, dated 209 G. E. (A. D. 528-29), reference is made to the fact that the early Gupta's were still enjoying sovereignty. In the Eran posthumous stone pillar inscription[42], Bhānugupta is mentioned as "the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king, equal to Pārtha, exceedingly heroic" (*jagati pravīro rājā mahān Pārtha-samo=ti-śūraḥ*, 1.5) ; and it is recorded there that Goparāja (undoubtedly a feudatory of Bhānugupta) fought a "very famous battle" (*y*[*u*] *ddhaṁ sumahat-prak* [*ā*] *śaṁ*, 1. 6) by the side of Bhānugupta, but was killed in the action, and that Goparāja's wife accompanied her husband, cremating herself on his funeral pyre. The pillar which bears this inscription was set up as a memorial at the very place where the battle was fought. Nothing, however, can be known from the record, as to who the enemy was, against whom Bhānugupta and his feudatory Goparāja, in the company of their other allies (*mittrāṇi*, 1. 6), fought, nor is it mentioned whether the emperor and his party were at all defeated. It is only stated that Goparāja was killed in the action. It may reasonably be supposed that this enemy must have been the Hūṇas who were now probably led by Mihirakula, but who had already under that chief's father, Toramāṇa, succeeded in bringing under their occupation Mālwā and other tracts of land in the west. Considering the fact that 18 years after this "very famous battle", which was fought in 191 G. E., the early Gupta supremacy was still prevalent in the neighbouring kingdom of Bhānugupta's feudatory, Saṁkshobha[43] (Hastin's son), whose inscription bears date 209 G. E., one feels inclined to believe that Bhānugupta was victorious in 191 G. E., over the Hūṇas. Hence it is clear that the authority of the Hūṇa chief Tormāṇa or his son, the tyrant

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[40] *Ibid*, No. 23.

[41] *Ibid*, No. 25.

[42] *Ibid*, No. 20.

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[43] *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 25.

Mihirakula, could not have penetrated into any kingdom east of Mālwā. But it is difficult to determine the relation between this Bhānugupta and the imperial Gupta monarchs revealed from the epigraphic and numismatic records and the Nalanda Seals. Both the Parivrājaka *mahārājas* Hastin and his son, Saṁkshobha, and the Uchchhakalpa *mahārāja* Sarvanātha, whose recorded dates[44] are respectively 193, 197 and 214 G. E., and probably Sarvanātha's father Jayanātha also, were contemporaries and feudatories of the imperial Guptas. At any rate Professor Pathak's conclusion[45] that the downfall of the Gupta empire, effected by the Hūṇa invasion, took place towards the close of the fifth century A. D., does not seem to be warranted by facts ; for we have shown above that the Hūṇas occupied only a part of the Gupta empire in the west, the central and eastern provinces (e.g. Puṇḍravardhana) still remaining under Gupta dominion. Professor Rapson's view[46] that during the last quarter of the 5th century A. D. "the northern and central provinces (E. Mālava), were held by different branches of the imperial family ; and in other parts of the empire powers previously subject or feudatory became independent" does not seem to be wholly correct ; for as far as we can see the successors of Budhagupta wielded some royal authority in the east, and it does not appear that all the former feudatories became independent of Gupta supremacy. We cannot accept Professor Pathak's view[47] that the initial year of Mihirakula was A. D. 502, and we cannot say that this year "marks the end of the Gupta empire" ; for we have a Gupta emperor still ruling as the "lord of the earth" in 224 G. E. (A. D. 543-44), having Puṇḍravardhana under a governor of his own appointing, and it is perhaps his rule that is referred to, in the inscription[48] dated 209 G. E. The only natural conclusion to be drawn in this connection is that the vast Gupta empire began to be circumscribed in extent, owing to the inroads of the Hūṇas, towards the close of the reign of the imperial monarch Budhagupta, and that it was from his successors' time that the diminution of Gupta power and glory actually commenced. It may be rightly said that Mihirakula, who reigned at least for 15 years[49] was a contemporary of Bhānugupta, the imperial Gupta sovereign, and was not a paramount sovereign of the rank of the early Guptas, as supposed by some scholars, dominating the whole of their former empire, but a king who had under his jurisdiction only some of its western provinces.

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[44] *Ibid*, Nos. 28, 30 and 31 respectively.

[45] *Vide* the Introduction to his second edition of the *Meghadūta* (Poona, 1916), pp. xi-xii, and pp. 214-15 of his article *New Light on the Gupta Era and Mihirakula* in the *Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.*

[46] Rapson, *Indian Coins* (*Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*), p. 26, §92.

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[47] *Loc. Cit* p. 217.

[48] *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 25.

[49] The Gwalior stone inscription, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 37, wherein the 15th regnal year of Mihirakula is mentioned,

Both Budhagupta and Bhānugupta were contemporary overlords of many of the feudatory princes, who were not dependent on the Hūṇa chiefs, Toramāṇa or Mihirakula. The decadence of Gupta glory began, as remarked above, during the closing years of Budhagupta's reign ; but the complete overthrow of the imperial Gupta power, of both the main line and its feudatories was in all probability brought about not by foreigners, the Hūṇas, but by the ambitious chief Yaśodharman of Mālwā. From the three Mandasor stone inscriptions[50] we learn of two kings, named Yaśodharman and Vishṇuvardhana, in the Mālwā region, when Bhānugupta was in all probability enjoying imperial sovereignty in the central and eastern provinces of the Gupta empire during the first quarter of the sixth century. The contents of these three inscriptions have been thoroughly discussed by Allan,[51] according to whom Yaśodharman was the suzerain of Vishṇuvardhana, and this is, according to the renowned scholar, the natural explanation of the occurrence of their names in verses 5 and 6 respectively of the inscription (*C.I.I.* No. 35), dated the year 589 (expired) of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, i. e. the expired Gupta era 213. Bereft of rhetorical embellishments, verse 5 simply states in substance that Yaśodharman was a *janendra* ("chief among men"), who had begun to acquire fame in battle, by himself plunging into the army of his enemies, whose reputations were eclipsed by his valorous deeds. The next verse again describes the other king as a *narādhipatiḥ* ("the king of men") and as a conqueror in war (*ājau jitī*), who had already acquired the supreme title of *rājādhirāja-parameśvara*, so difficult of attainment, by subjecting, by policy peaceful and militant, the very mighty kings of the east and many kings of the north. This king's minister, Abhayadatta, is described as having formerly held office in the tract of country, bounded by the Vindhyas and the Pāriyātra mountain and the (eastern) ocean. From this panegyric on Vishṇuvardhana it seems very probable that Yaśodharman (according to Jayaswal the two kings were identical, *vide* his *Imperial History of India*) was then rising into prominence under the supremacy of Vishṇuvardhana, who is to be regarded as the former's suzerain, and not *vice versa*, as supposed by Allan. Some of the enemies, opposed by both Vishṇuvardhana and Yaśodharman, were certainly the Hūṇas, who could no longer retain the tracts of land (in the west), over which they had shortly before established their power, and which they had also ruled for some time as kings. But the kings of the east, who were brought under subjection by Vishṇuvardhana, were probably feudatories of Bhānugupta, who was still ruling in the eastern provinces. The Vishṇuvardhana-Yaśodharman inscription (*C.I.I.*, No. 35) comes, it seems, a little earlier in point of time than the other two Mandasor inscriptions (*C.I.I.*, Nos. 33-34) which state in a most exalted manner the heroic actions of Yaśodharman, who is said to have compelled even king Mihirakula to pay him homage by touching his feet with the forehead. If this statement is taken as literally true, Yaśodharman may have completely humbled the power of the Hūṇa chief some time after A.D. 533-34 and then proceeded towards the eastern province, where the supremacy of Bhānugupta (or his successor, if he had any) was still continuing. It may not be quite unlikely that Vishṇuvardhana and Yaśodharman at first combined together, to drive away the Hūṇas under Mihirakula from the parts of the western provinces which were under Hūṇa sway, and then brought under subjection some of the Gupta feudatories in the east. But ultimately perhaps, by the superior strength of his arms, Yaśodharman overpowered his former suzerain Vishṇuvardhana and acquired the title of a universal sovereign (*samrāṭ*, V. 3, *C.I.I.*,

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[50] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 33-35.

[51] *C. C. B. M. G. D.*, Intro., pp. lv-lx.

No. 33). Hence it may be supposed that it was Yaśodharman, who usurped all the Gupta territories and brought about the actual downfall of the Gupta empire. It would be difficult in any other way to justify the panegyric, which contains Yaśodharman's boast (V. 5, *C.I.I.*, No. 33) that the *sāmantas* (feudatories) of the different parts of the land, from the Lauhitya (the Brahmaputra) in the east to the Western Ocean, and from the Himālayas in the north to the Mahendra Mountain in the south, did him honour. It is, therefore, not improbable that Yaśodharman overthrew Mihirakula some time after A.D. 533-34 and declared himself independent sovereign of Northern India. But the different account of the overthrow of Mihirakula, given by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, according to whom his tyranny was ended by Bālāditya (identified with Narasiṁhagupta of the Bhitari seal inscription, who belonged to the imperial line of the early Guptas), makes it difficult to explain satisfactorily the story of the Mandasor inscriptions referred to above. According to the Chinese pilgrim, this Bālāditya, a king of Magadha, whose territory was invaded by Mihirakula, succeeded in defeating and taking him prisoner, but afterwards released him; and the Hūṇa chief's ultimate fate was that he took refuge in Kashmir, where he made himself ruler. These two conflicting stories of the defeat of Mihirakula, as related in the inscriptions and in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim, have caused scholars to offer many suggestions regarding the truth. According to Vincent Smith[52] "the native princes under the leadership of Bālāditya, the king of Magadha (the same as Narasiṁhagupta), and Yaśodharman, a *rājā* of Central India, appear to have formed a confederacy against the foreign tyrant." But Allan[53], following the view of Fleet[54] that Mihirakula was overthrown by Yaśodharman in the west, and by Bālāditya in the direction of Magadha, suggests that Narasiṁhagupta (i.e. the Bālāditya of Hiuen Tsiang) was simply successful in defending Magadha against Mihirakula's aggression, and that Mihirakula was afterwards utterly routed and taken prisoner by Yaśodharman. The boastful statements about Yaśodharman in the Mandasor inscriptions lead us to believe that it was this powerful king, who succeeded in finally breaking the Hūṇa power in India declared himself independent *samrāṭ* of all Northern India and made his supremacy felt by the representatives of the imperial Gupta dynasty, still in possession of some power in the east, as well as by the Maukharis. Very likely Vishṇugupta, son and successor of Kumāragupta III and grandson of Bālāditya, who may have retained some power in Puṇḍravardhana especially, acknowledged the authority of Yaśodharman. The rise of Yaśodharman was, therefore, the cause of the downfall of the imperial Gupta rule in Northern India.[55] This king of Mālava may have continued to rule as Indian *samrāṭ* even after the complete downfall of the Guptas by the middle of the sixth century A.D. No successor of Yaśodarman is, however, known whereas we have epigraphic records of a local dynasty of eleven Gupta rulers in Magadha, beginning with Kṛishṇagupta and passing through Mādhavagupta (Harsha's contemporary) to Jīvitagupta II, who continued to rule as local chiefs in Magadha till about the middle of the eighth century A.D., probably till the rise of the Pāla kings of Bengal, who brought Magadha also under their rule.

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[52] *E.H.I.*, p. 318.

[53] *C.C.B.M.G.D.*, Intro. p. lix.

[54] *I.A.*, 1889, p. 228.

The history of Vainyagupta will be treated in Chapter IX.

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[55] For an analysis of the causes of the downfall of the Gupta Empire, see *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 626 ff.

CHAPTER V

THE MAUKHARI DYNASTY

Before entering into particulars regarding the career of kings of the Maukhari dynasty, which attained a high political position in North-Eastern India in the sixth century A.D., we should first attempt to trace its origin. General Cunningham secured a clay seal at Gayā, inscribed in Mauryan Brāhmī script, bearing the legend *Mokhalinaṁ* (= Maukharīṇāṁ).[1] The term Mukhara or Maukhari is believed to be very old. The Maukharis may have originally belonged to the country of Aṅga or a part of South Bihar, as is evident from the Barābar and Nāgārjunī Hill Cave inscriptions[2] of the time of Anantavarman. The group represented by the three chiefs Anantavarman, his father Śārdūlavarman and his grand-father Yajñavarman is earlier than the other group of Maukhari kings who ruled the Ayodhyā region of the modern Uttara Pradesh. It may be believed that both these groups probably belonged to the same stock.

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[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Intro., p. 14. Jayaswal regarded the Mauhari community of the Gaya and Patna districts as the descendants of the ancient Maukharis. Aravamuthan: Cf. *The Kaveri, the Maukhari and tha Sangam Age* p. 80, f. n. 1.

[2] *Ibid*, Nos. 48 and 49-50 respectively.

We have come across another family of the Maukharis from some inscriptions found at Baḍvā in Rajputana[3] and they flourished in the 3rd c A. D.

Harshavardhana's court-poet Bāṇa also hints that the family of the Maukharis was very old, and highly esteemed by all contemporary kings and people. In his *Harshacharita*[4] we find use of both the terms Mukhara and Maukhari.[5] That the usual form of the family-name is Maukhari is evident from its use in one of the introductory verses (v. 4) of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. In the former book Bāṇa writes of the union of the two brilliant lines of Pushpabhūti and Mukhara, "whose worth like that of the sun and the moon is sung by all the world to the gratification of wise men's ears". As Pushpabhūti was the remote ancestor of the Vardhana family of Sthāṇvīśvara, so Mukhara was probably the originator of both the Varman families of South Bihar (Gayā) and Uttara Pradesh (Ayodhyā and Kanauj). The Mukhara princes are said in the Haraha inscription[6] of Īśānavarman's time to have descended from the family of king Aśvapati of the house of Vaivasvata Manu. Hence the Maukharis claim their descent from the solar race. They were, however, Śaiva (*māheśvara*) by religion.

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[3] *E. I.* XXIII, pp. 42 ff ; *E. I.*, XXIV, pp. 252 ff ;

[4] Cf. the phrases *Pushpabhūti-Mukhara-vaṁśau* (Chap. IV, p. 72, Kane's ed.) and *sakala-bhuvana-namaskṛito Maukhari-vaṁśaḥ*, *Ibid*, p. 69.

[5] Another form *Maukhara* is found in the Jaunpur stone inscription (*C.I.I.*, No. 51) of king Īśvaravarman.

[6] Verse 3., Vol. XIV, pp. 110ff. A king of Madra

The sources which may profitably be utilised for gathering a history of the Maukhari chiefs and kings are their inscriptions and coins, Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* and the Buddhist treatise *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.

Of the three princes, Yajñavarman, his son Śārdūlavarman and the latter's son Anantavarman of the Gayā group of the Maukharis, made known to us by the Barābar and Nāgārjunī Hill Cave inscriptions, the first two enjoyed the status of a *sāmanta* (vassal) ruler. This is indicated by their use of the title *nṛipa* which indicates their lower political position of vassalage. The records being undated, we have no certain knowledge as to the paramount lords in the east, to whom they might have owed their allegiance. Palæographically these inscriptions are placed by scholars[7] earlier

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(located by Varāhamihira in the N.W. part of India) bears the same name, Aśvapati. But it does not seem probable that the Maukharis had any connection with him as Pandit Hirananda Sastri thinks.

[7] e.g. N. G. Majumdar in *I. A.*, 1917. Incidentally it may be remarked that the theory of E. A. Piers (*The Maukharis*, pp. 25-40) that Maukharis were rulers of Magadha before the imperial Guptas lacks solid foundation.

than A.D. 554, the date of the Haraha inscription. In all probability they were feudatories under the last imperial Gupta monarchs. However, the first chief Yajñavarman of this branch is described as celebrating many sacrifices which appear to have then fallen into desuetude (*ishṭa-samṛiddha-yajña-mahimā*), and as teaching all other rules the duty of the warrior caste (*kshatra-sthiter = ddesikaḥ*). He attained greatness by restoration of these time-honoured institutions. In respect of wisdom, high descent, liberality and prowess he surpassed other rulers, but yet he preserved a tranquil mind, through possession of modesty. His son Śārdūlavarman is mentioned as *sāmanta-chūḍāmaṇi*, establishing his fame by many wars with hostile kings who, however, cannot be rightly identified. It seems, however, undoubted that on the decline of the administrative glory of the imperial Guptas in East India, these vassal kings began to assert their independence and extend their political supremacy by fighting with their neighbours. That this second *sāmanta's* son Anantavarman was of the greatest help to his father, in dealing with his enemies, is evident from his epigraphs. His skilfulness in archery is much stressed therein, as it wrought havoc among the elephant and horse troops of his enemies. But this prince is not referred to in these inscriptions as ever ruling as a *sāmanta* chief. Probably the rise of other and greater political powers, in the eastern provinces, was responsible for the extinction of this eastern family of Maukhari *sāmantas* ; and prince Anantavarman had therefore no opportunity to assume rulership even as a feudatory chief, with the use of the lesser appellation of *nṛipa* only with his name. Their vassalage could not have lasted for more than half a century. This Anantavarman and his father and grand-father were not probably sectarian Hindus, as the first is credited with installing the image of the god Kṛishṇa in one cave-temple and those of Śiva-Pārvatī (probably in their *Arddhanārīśvara* form) and Pārvatī alone, under the names of Kātyāyanī and Bhavānī, in others. These meritorius acts of prince Anantavarman were performed by him during the life-time of his father.

The family of the second group of the Maukharis, whose territories lay in the Upper Ganges valley, specially in and near the modern districts of Barabanki, Fyzabad and Jaunpur in U.P., was founded by a chief named Harivarman. The inscription[8] on the copper-seal discovered in Asirgadh (in M. P.) gives a genealogy of these Maukharis down to the fifth king in the following order :

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[8] *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 47.

1. (Mahārāja) Harivarman = Jayasvāminī
(Bhaṭṭārikā-devī)
2. „ Ādityavarman = Harshaguptā „
3. „ Īśvaravarman = Upaguptā „
4. (Mahārājādhirāja) Īśānavarman = Lakshmīvatī (?)
(Bhaṭṭārikā-mahādevī)
5. „ Śarvvavarman

We cannot confidently connect these Maukharis with Asirgadh, the place of discovery of the seal, situated in the Nimar district of M.P. Their kingdom appears to have lain some hundreds of miles to the north-east in U.P. It is of course not very easy, in the absence of any geographical data, even in the Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman's time, to ascertain exactly the part or parts of the country that this king or his predecessors governed. It is quite reasonable, however, to believe that in the first half of the sixth century A. D., during the troublous times of the empire under the later imperial Guptas, due to the inroads of the Hūṇas and the rise of Yaśodharman of Mālava, the first three Maukhari rulers, who had only the use of the title *mahārāja*, indicative of their feudatory position, held sway over the Ayodhyā region.

The first *mahārāja* Harivarman, *alias* Jvālāmukha brought other kings under subjection by the dual policy of prowess and affection. He is credited to have employed his royal authority in regulating the different *varṇas* and *āśramas*. This may rightly be taken as a clear hint of the historical fact, that there arose some social and religious disorder in every part of North-Eastern India during this period. The fourth ruler of this line is found in these epigraphic records to have been the first to assume the imperial title of *mahārājādhirāja*. The second and third Maukhari *mahārājas* married princesses of the Gupta lineage. Harshaguptā, queen of Ādityavarman, was probably the sister of king Harshagupta of the Later Gupta family of Magadha, as scholars are apt to think. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri thinks,[9] quite plausibly, that such matrimonial relation with the Guptas in this period stimulated imperial ambition. We find that such ambition first embodied itself in the person of Īśvaravarman. The fragmentary nature of the Jaunpur inscription makes it impossible to refer, with any certainty, the historical information gleaned from it, to Īśānavarman or to any of his descendants. Both the father and grandfather of Īśvaravarman are described[10] therein as "having descended from the flourishing lineage of the Mukhara kings" (*udayini Mukharāṇāṁ bhūbhujām = anvavāye*). Ādityavarman strictly observed the regulations for the right conduct of the *varṇas* and *āśramas* and offered many a sacrifice to the gods. The strictly orthodox Hindu sacrificial customs were also followed by his son, *mahārāja* Īśvaravarman, who possessed all the virtues expected in a king of the warrior caste. It is from the reign of this latter king that the Maukhari conquests began to be achieved. It is stated that this mighty king had to secure the throne by "allaying the troubles of his subjects that were created by the approach of cruel people." There is a clear reference, in a verse of this epigraph, to a defeat sustained by an Andhra king, about whom the description runs, that out of fear of the Maukhari king, this lord of the Andhras was forced to take shelter, in one crevice after another in the Vindhya mountains. (*Vindhyāddreḥ pratirandhram = Andhrapatinā śaṁkāparen = āsitaṁ*). In the same verse there is a reference also to the Raivataka mountain in Surāshṭra (Kathiawad) ; but it is not clear if the Maukhari king had to proceed thither, or any king of that place proceeded towards the Maukhari realm and met defeat. There is in the next verse another description, though unfortunately injured by the mutilation of the stone, of the warriors of the Andhra army, "whose arms were studded with the lustre of (their) swords drawn out (of the scabbards)." The late Dr. Fleet found a reference to the city of Dhārā in verse 9 of this epigraph, but in our opinion there is no allusion to any place-name there. In all likelihood the word *dhārā* refers to the edge of a sword used by the Maukhari king (?), from which sparks of fire came out (*dhārā-mārgga-vinirgatāgnikaṇikā*). The next verses indicate the advance of the Maukhari king's army towards the Himālayan regions. In this connection a natural query arises as to who this king was, whose war-like exploits were directed against the Andhras, and probably also the Surāshṭra people. The late N. G. Majumdar's opinion[11] that the defeat of the Andhra king is to be regarded as happening during the reign of Īśvaravarman, appears to be quite reasonable. He also thinks that the glorious campaign of conquests of this king's son Īśānavarman "preceded his sitting on his father's throne". If that view be correct, it is Īśvaravarman[12] who must be taken as the first Maukhari king who paved the way to the imperial status, afterwards enjoyed by his illustrious son Īśānavarman and his grandson Śarvavvarman.

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[9] *P.H.A.I.*, p. 605.

[10] *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 51. (cf. vv. 4-5).

The first imperial sovereign of the Maukhári dynasty was Īśānavarman, whose date is now definitely known to scholars from the most important document of the period, the Haraha stone inscription[13] referred to above, which records the re-building, by one of his sons, Sūryyavarman by name (not known from any other document), of a dilapidated Śiva-temple in the year 611, believed by all scholars to refer to the Vikrama era, and therefore corresponding to A. D. 554 when the Maukhari king (Īśānavarman) was ruling in full glory after vanquishing all his foes. That the country was really plunging into social and political chaos, and this great monarch had to make all efforts to restore order, is clear from the court-poet describing the then earth as resembling "a cracked boat" (*sphuṭitanauḥ*) which he "saved from sinking by means of the ropes (*guṇas*) of his kingly virtues." He is, moreover, described as a great warrior, who scored three great victories in three different directions, viz. over the Andhra king, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas. According to some scholars these victories had been achieved by Īśānavarman during the life-time and reign of his father, whom he might have assisted in the wars directed against these people. But it may be argued that if the expedition against the Andhra king by his father, Īśvaravarman, referred to above, was really an unsuccessful operation, his son might have led a second expedition, after having ascended his father's throne some time before A. D. 554. In any case these three victories of this Maukhari ruler made it easier for him to assume lord-paramountcy. The Haraha inscription gives a vivid description[14] of them, stating that the victorious Īśānavarman occupied the throne after having defeated the lord of the Andhras, who had "thousands of three-fold rutting elephants", vanquished the Śūlikas who had "a cavalry of countless galloping horses," and made the Gauḍa people take shelter towards the sea-shore, "after causing their land territories to be deprived of their future prospects". It is difficult to identify this Andhra king who, in the opinion of the late Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri,[15] was probably Mādhavavarman (I, Janāśraya) of the Polamuru plates of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family, who "crossed the river Godāvarī with the desire to conquer the eastern region". Also it is not very easy to identify the Śūlika people in this inscription. It is however, generally agreed by scholars that they must be connected with Śaulika country, mentioned along with other south-easterly countries, viz. Kośala (undoubtedly South Kośala), Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Upavaṅga, Vidarbha, Vatsa, Andhra, Chedi etc. by Varāhamihira, the almost contemporary astronomer, in his *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*.[16] Dr. Raychaudhuri and following him Dr. R. K. Mookerji[17] think that these Śūlikas were probably the Chālukyas, and they point out in this connection the name of Kīrtivarman I of the Chalikya dynasty (as the name is spelt in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription), who gained victories over the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha etc. We cannot also definitely conjecture who were particularly meant by the Gauḍa people in this inscription. To us it seems that the use of this term (Gauḍa) in the Haraha inscription is the earliest in old inscriptions discovered in Eastern India, although Varāhamihira[18] (who

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[11] *I.A.*, 1917, p. 127.

[12] Dr. R. K. Mookerji in his *Harsha*, p. 58, (fn. 2) writes that Īśvaravarman was the first Maukhari "to have attained an imperial status." Had it been so, he would certainly have been described in his grandson Śarvavvarman's seal as a *mahārājādhirāja* instead of a *mahārāja* only—the former status being achieved by his son Īśānavarman for the first time.

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[13] *E.I.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 110 ff.

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[14] Cf. V. 13 which runs thus :

"जित्वान्ध्राधिपतिं सहस्रगणित-त्रेधा-क्षरद्वारणं
व्यावल्गन्नियुतातिसंख्यतुरगान् भङ्क्त्वा रणे शूलिकाम् (न्) ।
कृत्वा चायतिमीचितस्थलभुवो गौडान् समुद्राश्रया-
नध्यासिष्ट नतक्षितीशचरणः सिह्वा (सिंहा) सनं यो जिती ॥"

[15] *Op. Cit.*, p. 602.

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[16] *Vide* XIV, 8. In the same treatise XI, 7 and XIV, 23 (Vangavāsī ed., Calcutta) we meet with the name *Śūlīka* itself as associated with some countries in the W, N-W and N. But considering the Maukhari ruler's expedition towards the east it seems more reasonable to identify the *Śūlikas* with any of the south-easterly countries of Varāhamihira. The argument advanced by Dr. S. Chattopadhyaya that the Śūlikas are to be identified with the Hūṇas in the western or northern region of the Maukhari dominion (*Vide E. H. N. I.*, pp. 222-23) cannot be considered as very convincing.

[17] *Harsha*, p. 54, fn. 2.

[18] *Op. Cit.* XIV, 7.

died in A. D. 587) mentions it in his work as Gauḍaka, immediately followed by the name Pauṇḍra amongst the countries in the east. It may be suggested that during the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. the Gauḍa kingdom had its capital in Karṇasuvarṇa in Central Bengal. We know that *mahārājādhirāja* Jayanāga once had his head-quarters in Karṇasuvarṇa and thence issued a copper-plate grant[19] belonging, in our opinion based on its palæography, to the latter half of the sixth century A.D. There is, curiously enough, a clear mention in the Buddhist work *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[20], of a Gauḍa king whose name ended in *Nāga* and began with *Jaya*, which means that it was Jayanāga. It may be believed that Jayanāga and his son, who ruled only for a few months (as the Buddhist work narrates), preceded Śaśāṅka as kings of Karṇasuvarṇa. A guess may be ventured, that the Maukhari Īśānavarman probably drove the Gauḍa people towards the sea-shore, after having forced them to quit their land territories in Central Bengal, during the reign of the "Gauḍarāja" Jayanāga[21]. Of course further discoveries must be awaited for the corroborration of such a view. The epithet *nata-kshitīśa-charaṇaḥ*, applied to Īśānavarman in the same verse, signifies that on the results of these conquests the three kings of the Andhras, Śūlikas and Gauḍas recognised his imperial suzerainty. Thus the political power of Maukharis grew enormous in Uttarāpatha.

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[19] *E. I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 60 ff.

[20] Gaṇapati Sastri's ed.—Chap. 53, p. 636.

[21] As regards the location of the Gauḍas Dr. D. C. Sircar also observes : "Īśānavarman drove out the Gauḍa people for the future (for all ages to come permanently) from the dry land and compelled them to take shelter into

Inscriptional records bear witness to another most important historical fact that the Maukharis and the Later Gupta family of Magadha bore a relation of hereditary feud between themselves. The fourth king of the latter family, Kumāragupta, thought that the possibility of his attainment of suzerain power depended largely on his ability to keep in check the growing power of the Maukharis, specially during the rule of Īśānavarman. Hence that king of Magadha is credited by the poet of the Apshad inscription[22] of Ādityasena, to have churned, acting as a veritable Mandāra mountain, "that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious Īśānavarman, a very moon among kings." The

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the waters of the sea" : *J.A.S.B.* (Letters), XI, p. 69. That is to say, Dr. Sircar is inclined to believe that the Gauḍas never lived on the sea-shore. How can the sea be said to be the shelter of a people who already live on the sea-shores ?

[22] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 42. of. the lines in v. 8 :

"भीमः श्रीशानवर्म्मक्षितिपतिशशिनः सैन्यदुग्धोदसिन्धु-
र्लक्ष्मी-संप्राप्तिहेतुः सपदि विमथितो मन्दरीभूय येन ॥"

Maukhari forces had a troop of ponderous and mighty rutting elephants, which the king used in his battle against the Magadhan army under Kumāragupta. It is also related in the same inscription that the mighty army of the elephants of the Maukharis which formerly succeeded in throwing aloft in battle the troops of the Hūṇas, was broken up by Kumāragupta's son and successor king Dāmodaragupta who, however, himself fell in that battle. This description indicates that the Maukhari chiefs, presumably some of the predecessors of Īśānavarman, with their elephant troops had often to confront the Hūṇa armies and had on some occasions inflicted on them crushing defeat. It seems to us that the king of Magadha was successful in the first battle against Īśānavarman, but his son met defeat at the hands of the Maukhari army in the second. The victory over Dāmodaragupta may have been scored either by Īśānavarman himself or by his son Śarvvavarman. Anyhow the Maukhari family was gradually gaining supremacy in Magadha too. We have seen above that Īśānavarman was succeeded on the throne by his son Śarvvavarman, who is also styled in the Asirgadh seal inscription a paramount sovereign bearing the imperial title *mahārājādhirāja*. This Maukhari king was one of the "previous" rulers, who had one after another confirmed the grant of a village to a sun-god under the name of

Varuṇasvāmin, the continuance of which was recorded on a pillar, by means of a royal charter[23] of king Jīvitagupta II, of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha.

There is numismatic evidence of the political supremacy, wielded in Eastern India at least by the three Maukhari kings, Īśānavarman, Śarvvavarman and Avantivarman. A hoard of coins, belonging to the reign of these kings (9, 6 and 17 in number respectively), was discovered in the Fyzabad district.[24] According to Rapson,[25] one of Śarvvavarman's coins bore a date-figure representing 58 and some of his father Īśānavarman's the figures 54 and 55. Burn read on a coin of Avantivarman 57 (or 67), and on another 250, a date believed to have belonged to the Gupta era. It is however probable, that a Maukhari era was started about A.D. 499-500 in imitation of the Gupta era, from the time when Īśvaravarman began to establish supremacy over kings of distant lands, by means of his conquests.

A second son of Īśānavarman, of the name of Sūryyavarman is found mentioned in the Haraha inscription whence it is learnt that this prince was in the enjoyment of full youth in A. D. 554 when his notice was attracted, while he was out a-hunting, by the dilapidated condition of the old temple of Śiva, which he caused to be reconstructed. There is as yet no epigraphic or numismatic document to indicate that this Sūryyavarman was ever a reigning monarch in the Maukhari list. Pandit Hirananda Sastri[27] thinks that this prince, either predeceased his father in case he was the eldest son, or was a prince younger than the heir-apparent (Śarvva). Dr. Raychaudhuri[28] has drawn the attention of scholars to a prince of the name of Sūryyavarman, who is described in the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśivagupta as "born in the unblemished family of the Varmans, great on account of their *ādhipatya* (supremacy) over Magadha". This, however, contains information of the birth only of this prince in the Varman family and not of his position. If, this Varman family is taken to refer to the Maukhari dynasty and Sūryya is identified with the Maukhari prince of that name mentioned in the Haraha inscription, even then we cannot be sure that Sūryyavarman ever ruled as a king having political jurisdiction anywhere. If the identifications are correct, it may be thought that the Maukhari Varmans took possession, though temporarily, of Magadha, which they probably succeeded in occupying after

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[23] *Ibid*. No. 46.

[24] *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pt. II, pp. 843 ff. Also see *D.K.M.*, pp. 427 ff.

[25] *Indian coins*, p. 257.

[26] *J.R.A.S.* 1906, pt. II, pp. 843.

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27. *E. I.*, Vol. XIV. p. 111.
28. *Op. Cit.*, p. 605, fn. 5.

Dāmodaragupta's defeat by the Maukhari king. This view may find support from the discovery of some seals containing the name of Īśānavarman at Nalanda in South Magadha.

The Nalanda Seal of Avantivarman[29] has now proved that Śarvvavarman the last king in the Maukhari list, obtained from the Asirgadh seal, was succeeded by his son *Mahārājādhirāja* Avantivarman. The latter is mentioned as *parameśvara* in the Deo-Baranark inscription and as one of the early kings who had confined the grant of the village to the Sun-god referred to above.

From the fact that Avantivarman's eldest son Grahavarman, the famous Maukhari king and son-in-law of king Prabhākaravardhana of Sthāṇvīśvara (Thaneswar), was ruling from Kanauj before A.D. 606, the year of Harshavardhana's ascension to the Vardhana throne, it appears that Avantivarman had removed his seat of government a little westward to the famous city of Kanauj. The rising political power of the Vardhana house of Pushpabhūti was responsible for a matrimonial union between itself and the famous Maukhari lineage. The manner in which Bāṇa[30] has described the settlement and actual celebration of the marriage, performed at Thaneswar between Avantivarman's son Grahavarman, and Prabhākaravardhana's daughter Rājyaśrī, clearly indicates that the bridegroom's father was not alive at the time of his son's wedding, and therefore Grahavarman himself sought the hand of the Vardhana princess, through an ambassador, and the marriage party arrived at the bride's father's court without any guardian to look after the affairs.

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[29] *E.I.*, Vol. XXIV pp. 283ff.

[30] *Harshacharita*, Chap. IV.

This matrimonial alliance between the two royal families enraged the Mālava king, once so friendly towards the Vardhana house, because the Mālavas and the Maukharis had all along been hostile to one another. Hence the Mālava house entered into a fresh alliance with the Gauḍa king, against the two newly allied powers, the Vardhanas and the Maukharis. We are told by Bāṇa[31] that afterwards the Mālava king, probably Devagupta by name, having taken immediate advantage of the death of king Prabhākaravardhana, marched against and put to death king Grahavarman, and treated his queen Rājyaśrī like a brigand's wife. The villain put her in iron chains, cast her into prison at Kānyakubja, and "deeming the army of Thaneswar leaderless purposed to invade and seize that country as well." What followed next forms the subject of a subsequent chapter. During the raid on the city by the Gauḍas, a Gupta nobleman captured Kanauj, and helped Rājyaśrī in escaping from prison, and in entering with her attendants into the Vindhya forests, whence her brother Harshavardhana, with great difficulty, rescued her later on. Harsha probably assumed sovereignty over a realm, which included the Maukhari kingdom of Kanauj, where his sister's husband once ruled, and it is from the time of the rescue of his sister that he might have removed his capital from Thaneswar to Kanauj.

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[31] *Ibid*, Chap. VI, Cf. the passage :
"किंवदन्ती च यथा किलानायकं साधनं मत्वा जिघृक्षुः सुदुर्मतिरेतामपि भुवमाजिगमिषतीति विज्ञापिते प्रभुः प्रभवतीति ।"

We hear of one Śrī Suva or Sucha, who, from his seal found at Nalanda[32], is known to have succeeded his father Avantivarman. As the seal omits the name of Grahavarman, another son of Avantivarman, it appears that Avantivarman was not succeeded by Grahavarman, at least in Magadha. In other words, Śrī Suva became the imperial lord of Magadha, as his imperial titles would show, after his father. Another prince named Bhogavarman, perhaps belonging to the Maukhari dynasty, is also known from a Nepal inscription of Jayadeva II dated in H. E. 153 (=A.D. 759). This Maukhari Bhogavarman was the father of the Nepal king Jayadeva II's mother, Vatsadevī,[32] who again was related to the Later Gupta lineage of Magadha, being the *dauhitrī* (daughter's daughter) of the "great" Ādityasena, the lord of Magadha. So, like Grahavarman marrying the daughter of the Vardhana king, Bhogavarman also contracted matrimonial relation with the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, and became the son-in-law of Ādityasena. He was thus later by almost two generations than Harsha's time. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[34] however, gives a hint that the Maukharis lost their kingdom and royal rank after the time of "Graha-Suvra." Graha may have stood for Grahavarman, and it is not unlikely, as Prof. Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta suggests, that Suvra of the *Manjuśrīmūlakalpa* may be identical with Suva of the Nalanda seal. It will be shown elsewhere that Śūrasena[35] was probably the name of the husband of Bhogadevī, the mother of Bhogavarman. If that is a correct conjecture, Śūrasena was a Maukhari prince, perhaps ruling nominally at Kanauj after Harsha's death.

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[32] *E. I.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 283 ff. A. Ghosh who has edited the inscription restores the name as Suchandravarman.

[33] *I. A.*, Vol. IX, pp. 178 ff (Bhagwanlal's Inscription No. 15), cf the line "देवी बाहुबलाढ्यमौखरिकुल—" ।

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[34] *Vide* Chap. 53, p. 626, cf. the lines ,—"ईशान-सर्व-पङ्क्तिश्च ग्रह-सुव्र तथा परः ॥ ततस्ते लुप्तराजानः भ्रष्टमर्याद सर्वदा ।"

[35] Also *vide* *I. A.*, X, pp, 34 ff,

CHAPTER VI

THE LATER GUPTAS OF MAGADHA

In the present chapter will be described the history of another eastern dynasty of rulers, usually called by scholars "The Later Guptas of Magadha" comprising eleven members, who mostly wielded political power as local rulers of Magadha, during a period of about two hundred and fifty years, from the early part of the sixth century A.D. to the middle of the eighth. It is very likely that after the extinction of the line of the imperial Guptas ruling in Magadha i.e. after the death of Vishṇugupta, Kṛishṇagupta, the founder of the new dynasty, at that time a local chief, found an opportunity to assert his supremacy in Magadha. At this time the other parts of the imperial Gupta empire in Eastern India, including Tirhut and Puṇḍravardhana, were still under the direct administration of the latest imperial Gupta emperors. In the foregoing chapter it has been stated, that the first three Maukhari chiefs held feudatory position during the period of decline of the Gupta kings of the imperial main line in the first part of the sixth century A.D., when the empire passed through troublous times, on account of fresh Hūṇa inroads, as well as the threatening rise of the Mālava chief, Yaśodharman. The gradual weakening of the

Gupta power made their feudatories in the different parts of the country cherish a feeling of rivalry and hostility among themselves, through their desire for political supremacy. It was during such a time that the first two or three members of this family of the Later Guptas were struggling to extend their ruling authority.

The Apshad inscription[1] of Ādityasena gives a genealogy of these Gupta rulers for eight generations, from Kṛishṇagupta to Ādityasena; and the Deo-Baranark inscription[2] of Jīvitagupta II supplies us with names from the seventh ruler Mādhavagupta to the eleventh generation hitherto known. In the first epigraph the first *nṛipa* Kṛishṇagupta is described as being victorious over countless enemies, by crushing whom he rose to eminence. It may be supposed that these enemies were the princes of the neighbouring states who made efforts to assert their own power over one another. His army had a vast troop of elephants and he was attended by men of learning. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri[3] is inclined to think that Yaśodharman was one of his enemies. His son, the next king Harshagupta, was a valiant warrior who offered a great resistance in terrible battles to those of his enemies, who foolishly

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1. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III., No. 42, pp. 200 ff.
2. *Ibid*, No. 46, pp. 213 ff.
3. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 601.

refused to tolerate the goddess of Royalty favouring him. This fact clearly indicates that the power of the new Magadhan house was gradully growing. This chief had a record of glorious triumph in many battles. After him ruled his son, king Jīvitagupta I, the crest-jewel amongst kings (*Kshitīṣa-chūḍāmaṇiḥ*), who was a terror to his proud enemies. He performed warlike exploits, some of which were of such a superhuman character (*atimānushaṃ karma*), that for a long time they were regarded with astonishment by all mankind. Historical significance may be attributed to court-poet's description that this king's valour caused "terrible scorching fever (of fear)" to his great (*uchchaiḥ*) enemies, which the latter could not shake off even though they lived on the cool sea-shores or in the Himālayan regions. Very probably we shall have to identify these enemies living on the seashores with the Gauḍas and the Vaṅgas of the period, and the Himālayan enemies with the people of Nepal under one of thc Lichchhavi rulers. It has been related above, that the Gauḍa peoples were forced by the Maukhari Īśānavarman, in the middle of the sixth century, to quit their homes and seek shelter near the sea-shores. The Later Guptas probably succeeded in extending their political influence and jurisdiction over some portions of Bengal, specially towards the east and the south of Magadha. It has been noticed before, that the army of the great Maukhari king Īśānavarman, at one time led a conquering expedition in all directions, was defeated in action by Jīvitagupta's son and successor Kumāragupta whose military strength and leadership in battle were well-known, and who always thought that no attainment of suzerain power was possible, without keeping the growth of Maukhari supremacy in check. It may reasonably be argued that these kings tried to establish a North Indian empire on the model of the Imperial Guptas. A sad occurrence is clearly hinted in the Apshad inscription regarding Kumāragupta, who entered into a fire "kindled with dry cow-dung cakes" after having gone to Prayāga (Allahabad). Was it a case of self-immolation[4] as a sacred rite, just like the one performed by king Śūdraka, the alleged author of the Sanskrit drama *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, who embraced death by leaping into a sacrificial fire ? Or, was it a natural death that he died at Prayāga, where only the usual funeral rites were performed ? It may not seem improbable that the king advanced towards Allahabad from Magadha in order to meet the army of the Maukharis.

The fifth king of the dynasty was Dāmodaragupta, son of Kumāragupta. He is reputed to have split the heavy Maukhari army consisting largely of an array of mighty elephants, which had formerly kept at bay the Hūṇas; but unfortunately he himself fell[5] in the battle. One of the most remarkable benefactions of this king was that he helped hundreds of virtuous Brāhmaṇas in giving away their daughters in marriage, by himself presenting rich dowries of *agrahāra* grants. After Dāmodaragupta's defeat, there was cessation of hostility for some time between these two conflicting eastern powers.

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[4] Such death in fire or water was not rare in India. King Rāmapāla of Bengal, for instance, died by a dive into the waters of the Ganges.

But at this time the Magadhan house had to reckon with a rising eastern power, namely the Varman kings of Kāmarūpa. Dāmodargupta's illustrious son Mahāsenagupta, described as "the foremost amongst warriors who acquired in all assemblages of heroes", a reputation of first rank for heroism, achieved a glorious victory in war over Susthitavarman. The court-poet[6] graphically narrates in the epigraph, that the lofty fame marked by words of praise for this victory is "even to this day," i. e. about half-a-century after the battle, constantly sung on the banks of the river Lauhitya (the Brahmaputra). It seems very curious, that following a genuine mistake, committed by the late

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[5] *Vide ante*, Chap. V, p. 135. K. C. Chattopadhyay conjectures that Dāmodaragupta fell in swoon but later on regained his consciousness. Cf. *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, pp. 181 ff. But such a view is untenable.

[6] "श्रीमत्-सुस्थितवर्म्मयुद्ध-विजय-श्लाघा-पदाङ्कं मुहुर्यस्याद्यापि···लौहित्यस्य तटेषु···स्फीतं यशो गीयते ॥"

Dr. Fleet, when he took Susthitavarman to be a member of the Maukhari dynasty, long before the discovery in 1913 of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, some of our Indian colleagues[7] have endorsed the same view. But the clear mention, in the inscription, of the name of the river Lohitya or Lauhitya, should have set at rest any doubt about the identity of the king, who must be taken as the father of Bhāskaravarman mentioned both in the *Harshacharita*[8] of Bāṇa and the Nidhanpur copper-plate grant[9]. It is, therefore, apparent that there was no friendly political relation between the Magadhan Guptas and the Varmans of Kāmarūpa. There was, on the other hand, a very cordial association between the Varmans of Kāmarūpa and the Vardhana family of Thaneswar. From the Sonpat seal inscription,[10] as well as the Banskhera[11] and Madhuvana[12] copper-plates of Harshavardhana, we find that the name of the mother of Prabhākaravardhana, the first paramount sovereign of Thaneswar, was Mahāsenaguptā, who was married to *mahārāja* Ādityavardhana. It seems quite likely that she was a sister of king Mahāsenagupta of Magadha, and thus it may be believed that the Vardhana and the (Magadhan) Gupta dynasties entered into matrimonial connection with each other. Hence it was not unnatural for Mahāsenagupta's son Mādhavagupta, who was Prabhākaravardhana's maternal cousin, to have approached Harshavardhana (mentioned as Harshadeva in the Apshad inscription) for alliance. The good traits of Mādhavagupta's character are fully dwelt upon in that epigraph. It is stated there that besides "finding pleasure only in prowess," this king was "the leader of those who acquire renown in war, a very store-house of goodness, the best of those who excel in the collection and bestowal of riches, the natural home of wealth, truth and learning, and a firm bridge of religion." The sphere of his political influence was extensive, and when he was successful in killing his foes and averting danger to his kingdom, his own people did him obeisance out of gratefulness. The most significant incident of his reign was his approach to Harsha, who was then attaining lord-paramountcy in the whole of Northern India, for alliance. This he did, after having uprooted his enemies by fighting them in battle, certainly with a view to strengthen his dominance in Eastern India. His idea of becoming an ally of Harsha is referred to in the inscription thus : the hero (Mādhavagupta) having determined in his mind that "his mighty enemies have been slain" by him "in battle" and that "there remained nothing more" for him "to do," desired to enter into an alliance with Harsha. It is not clear who these enemies of Mādhavagupta were. In all probability they were the kings of the eastern countries, including Kāmarūpa, of which the king (Susthitavarman) had already been defeated in battle by his father Mahāsenagupta. It does not seem quite proper to assume that Mādhavagupta became a *subordinate* ally of the Vardhana house ; his position rather was very high and independent in Magadha. This view may explain correctly why his son Ādityasena, perhaps the most prominent member of the Later Gupta dynasty, was successful, after the usurpation of the Vardhana throne by Arjuna, a minister of Harsha, and his defeat by a Chinese envoy, helped by the armies of Tibet and Nepal, shortly after the emperor's death in A.D. 647, in asserting his independence as a paramount sovereign. His father's position was already high and he himself made his own higher. The way in which the military capacity of this king is described, in eight verses (unfortunately in mutilated condition) in his own stone-inscription leaves do doubt, that during the period of confusion and anarchy in Northern India immediately after the death of Harsha, this Magadhan ruler suceeded in bringing other states under his own royal subjection. The epithet applied to Ādityasena as "guardian of the world, by whose white umbrella the whole circuit of the earth is covered" (*śvetātapatrasthagita-vasumatī-maṇḍalo Lokapālaḥ*), may be taken in its literal sense in this connection. The other epithet which suggests that "the darting fire of the prowess of (his) feet has the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of all (other) kings thrown into it" (*nyastāśesha - narendra - mauli - charaṇa-sphāra-pratāpā-nalaḥ*) is not less significant. There is no doubt that his kingdom comprised some eastern countries, including those on the sea-shore. His fame as an imperial sovereign crossed over even to the other side of the ocean (*yātā-sāgarapāraṁ*).

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[7] e.g. Dr. R. K. Mookerji in his *Harsha*, p. 65.

[8] *Vide* Parab's edition of the Book, p. 220, where the name is wrongly spelt as Susthiravarman.

[9] *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 65 ff. (v. 18).

[10] *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 52, p. 231.

[11] *E.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 208.

[12] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 67.

There is an inscription[13] in the Vaidyanātha temple, most probably brought away from some building on the Mandara Hill in the old Aṅga country, which records the installation of the image of the god Nṛihari (Man-lion incarnation of Vishṇu) in a temple, which king Ādityasena with his queen Śrī-Koṇadevī (apparently wrongly deciphered as Koshadevī by Fleet), caused to be erected on that hill. Here an image was also set up of Varāha (the Boar-incarnation of Vishṇu), by a person named Balabhadra, who might have belonged to a much later age, when gold coins were called by the name of *chāmīkara-ṭaṅkaka*. But what is of great historical importance in this epigraph is the description of king Ādityasena, who is stated to have been "a ruler of the (whole) earth upto shores of oceans", and "the performer of *aśvamedha* and other great sacrifices". The Apshad (Gayā district), the Shahpur (Patna district) and the Mandar (Bhagalpur District) inscriptions show that *mahārājādhirāja* Ādityasena's kingdom consisted not only of Magadha but also of Aṅga. But we must remember that neither Mādhavagupta nor Ādityasena could live in Pāṭaliputra, for we learn from Hiuen Tsiang[14] that there "now nothing but the old foundations remains." The extension of his conquests towards the shores of the ocean suggests that Bengal, specially the southern Rāḍhā and Vaṅga might have come under his domination. That during the next three generations the Later Guptas continued to enjoy sovereign power, in this large kingdom as established by Ādityasena, and also in the valley of the Gomatī river (in Arrah and other districts), till the middle of the eighth century A. D., is clear from the Deo-Baranark inscription,[15] issued from the royal camp at Gomatī-*koṭṭaka* by Jīvitagupta II. In that inscription the next three kings after Ādityasena are also found using the imperial titles of *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirāja*. We know of only one date, the year 66 (believed to be of the Harsha era) i. e. A. D. 672, that certainly belonged to the reign of Ādityasena, one of whose high military officers (*balādhikṛita*), named Sālapaksha, made a religious gift in the *agrahāra* of Nālandā, situated in the neighbourhood of Shahpur, the place of discovery of the inscription.[16] The genealogy after Ādityasena runs down to three more kings, viz. Devagupta, his son Vishṇugupta and the latter's son Jīvitagupta II, bearing the two imperial titles *parma-bhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirāja*; but they were all *parama-māheśvara* by religion. Some antiquarians regard this Magadhan Vishṇugupta as identical with the Vishṇugupta who bears the *āditya* title *Chandrāditya* in the coin.[17] The Kendur plates[18] refer to a king of Northern India having the epithet *sakalottarāpatha-nātha*, who, it is said, was defeated by the Chālukya kings, Vinayāditya (about A. D. 680-696) and Vijayāditya. It may be conjectured that this Northern Indian king was either Ādityasena himself, or his son Devagupta. During the last quarter of the seventh century A. D., the Later Gupta kings held undisputed sway not over Magadha alone, but

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[13] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 212-213, Foot-note—the inscription ending with the words—*iti Mandara-giri-prakaraṇaṁ*.

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[14] *Life* (Beal). p. 101.

[15] *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 46,

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16. *Ibid*, No. 43.
17. *C. C. B. M. G. D.*, p. 145.
18. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 1, Pt, II, pp. 189, 368, and 371.

also other parts of Northern India, as has been shown above. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri has pointed out that, from the records of the Western Chālukyas of Vātāpi, it could be easily inferred, that there existed a "pan-North Indian empire, in the last quarter of the seventh century A. D.", and that the last few Later Gupta kings probably attempted to carve out such an empire.

The Chinese traveller I-tsing referred to the Corean traveller, named Hwui Lun,[19] coming to India by the sea-route, during the latter half of the seventh century, and writing in connection with a temple built by king Ādityasena near an old one in Mahābodhi thus : "Recently a king called Sun-army (Ādityasena), built by the side of the old temple another which is now newly finished. Priests from the south occupy this temple". He also wrote about another temple of which only the foundations remained when he visited it, called "the Tchina (China) temple", thus : "Tradition says that formerly a Mahārāja called Śrīgupta built this temple for the use of Chinese priests. He was prompted to do so by the arrival of about twenty priests of that country, who had travelled from Sz'chuen to the Mahābodhi temple to pay their worship. Being impressed by their pious demeanour, he gave them the land and the revenues of about twenty villages as an endowment. This occured some 500 years ago. The land has now reverted to the king of Eastern India, whose name is Devavarman, but he is said to be willing to give back the temple-land and the endowment in case any priests came from China". From this historically accurate description it is clear, that this king Devavarman, whom the contemporary Corean pilgrim found ruling in Eastern India, and possessing the right of disposal of land in Mahābodhi, must be identified with Devagupta, son of Ādityasena of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. Dr. R. C. Majumdar's[20] identification of this king with Devakhaḍga of Eastern Bengal seems to be unwarranted although the two kings, Devavarman (*alias* Devagupta) of Magadha and Devakhaḍga of East Bengal might have been contemporary or nearly so.

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[19] *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* (Beal)—Introduction, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

It appears clear from the description of the Prakrit epic, the Gaüḍavaho ("the Slaughter of the king of Gauḍa") composed by Vākpatirāja, who flourished during the reign of king Yaśovarman of Kanauj, sometime in the middle of the eighth century, as a contemporary of the poet Bhavabhūti, that the Gauḍa king must also have been

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[20] *H.B.R.*, p. 87. Also *Early History of Bengal* (Dacca University Bulletin, 1924), p. 23.

Magaha-nāha (Lord of Magadha). Dr. Raychaudhuri's conjecture, that the Later Gupta line of Magadha "was probably finally destroyed by the Gauḍas, who could never forgive Mādhavagupta's desertion of their cause", is not quite convincing, because at the time Gauḍa and Magadha formed a single kingdom, and the same ruler was both Gauḍādhipa and Magdhanātha. It was this Gauḍa-Magadha king, in all probability the last ruler of the later Gupta line Jīvitagupta II, who is described in that Prakrit epic[21] as fleeing from Magadha, leaving that country at the mercy of the victor, when the ambitious Yaśovarman approached towards him. The Eastern people of Gauḍa and Magadha compelled their sovereign to face the adventurer from Kanauj, but unfortunately the eastern Indian king fell a victim to his western enemy, who succeeded in overruning the whole of Bengal and Bihar upto the sea-shore. Thus ended a great Eastern Indian empire, after having played a short-lived part in history. The anarchy that followed this event led to the gradual rise of the Pāla kings of Bengal, who ruled over an extensive Eastern empire for several centuries.

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[21] vv. 414-417 of the poem (Bombay Sanskrit Series) pp. 119-120.

CHAPTER VII

THE AMALGAMATED KINGDOM OF KARṆASUVARṆA AND PUṆḌRAVARDHANA UNDER GAUḌĀDHIPA ŚAŚĀṄKA

It has been suggested in a previous chapter, that during the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. the Gauḍa kingdom had its capital at Karṇasuvarṇa, which scholars identify with Rāṅgāmāṭi[1], a place situated in Northern Rāḍhā and on the western bank of the river Bhāgīrathī, near Berhampur, and that it included within its boundaries Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti (North Bengal). Vaṅga-Samataṭa i.e. South and East Bengal remained, of course, a separate political entity. But in the eighth century and probably later, the term Gauḍādhipa meant that the ruler was not only the king of

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[1] Recently the Department of Archæology of the University of Calcutta under the leadership of Dr. S. R. Das conducted excavations at a mound locally called Rājabāḍīdānga (palace-mound) in a village called Jadupur, near Chiruti Railway Station in Murshidabad, West Bengal. Among many antiquites and structural remains, a terracotta sealing containing an inscription '*Śrī-Raktamṛittikāmahāvihāra*' has come to light. On the strength of the combined testimony of that inscription and Hiuen Tsang's description of Raktamṛittikā-vihāra standing in the suburbs of the city of Karṇasuvarṇa, Dr. Das is inclined to identify Karṇasuvarṇa with Chiruti and its neighbourhood. Vide *Monthly Notice of the Asiatic Society*, July, 1963.

North and Central Bengal, but had also the appellation of Magadhanātha, Magadha forming a part of the Gauḍa kingdom at that time. In the present chapter will be described the history of the Gauḍa kingdom i.e. the amalgamated kingdom of Karṇasuvarṇa and Puṇḍravardhana under Śaśāṅka and Jayanāga.

The sources utilised for gathering the history of Śaśāṅka consist chiefly of :—(1) the accounts of the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang) as we find in his *Records* and *Life*, (2) the historical romance *Harshacharita* of king Harshavardhana's court-poet Bāṇa, (3) some of the epigraphic and numismatic records of the times, and (4) the *Bodhisattva-piṭakāvataṁsaka* or *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. The 53rd chapter (Paṭalavisara) of this last treatise contains interesting and important material for the ancient history of the various parts of India. The accounts of kings and people, given in this unique treatise of Mantric texts, are found recorded, just as we find in the Brāhmaṇic Purāṇas, in a prophetic manner, as if the events described would be happening in future. The names of kings are often mentioned in a very abbreviated form (e.g. Rakārādya and Hakārākhaya kings standing for Rājyavardhana and Harshavardhana respectively), and sometimes given in synonyms instead of in their originals (e.g. Somākhya for Śaśāṅka).

After the gradual decadence of the glory of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, on account of the incessant inroads of the White Hūṇas upon the empire, and its complete overthrow by Yaśodharman of Mālava, towards the middle of the sixth century A.D., the imperial title of a universal sovereign (*samrāṭ*) was assumed by that ambitious prince, after he had successfully usurped all the Gupta provinces and Hūṇa territories, and declared himself independent emperor of Northern India. This fact has already been referred to in a previous chapter in the exalting words of his own court-poet (Vāsula). After the unknown end of this monarch, the empire of Northern India, which he tried to consolidate, again broke up into several parts, each becoming independent with their respective rulers. So the Vardhana family of Sthāṇvīśvara (Thaneswar), the Maukharis of Ayodhyā and Kanauj, the Later Guptas of Magadha and the people of Gauḍa gradually increased their power, and prepared themselves for entering into a contest for paramount supremacy in Northern India. The kings of Mālava in the south-west and Kāmarūpa (Assam) in the extreme east were not also sitting idle at the time as mere on-lookers.

All rulers of the Vardhana and Maukhari dynasties before Prabhākaravardhana and Īśānavarman respectively used the title of *mahārāja*, implying that they were simply local chiefs (whether or not they owed any allegiance to any liege-lord); and it is these two kings who first used the paramount title of *mahārājādhirāja*. They were making conquest of neighbouring and distant lands, and by defeating the rulers of those places were trying to bring them under their own vassalage. During the latter half of the sixth century A.D. we find the kings of these various dynasties entering into battle against each other. King Kumāragupta of the Later Gupta family fought a battle against the Maukhari king Īśānavarman, whose army he completely routed. A little later his son, Dāmodaragupta also had to fight against a Maukhari ruler, but he died on the battle-field. Still later, we find another conflict between Mahāsenagupta (son of Dāmodaragupta) of Magadha and a Kāmarūpa king named Susthitavarman (father of Bhāskaravarman), in which the latter sustained a heavy defeat. We also know from the famous Apshad Stone Inscription of Ādityasena that this Mahāsenagupta's son Mādhavagupta made an alliance with Harshavardhana of Thaneswar, probably to fortify himself against his Kāmarūpa and other eastern enemies. It appears very probable that since the time when Īśānavarman, during a clash with Kumāragupta of Magadha, proceeded, as we learn from the Haraha inscription of this king dated A. D. 554, up to North Bengal (Gauḍa proper), and compelled the Gauḍa people to find escape towards the sea wiping off the future hope regarding their landed properties (*Kṛitvā ch = āyati - mochita - sthalabhuvo Gauḍān samudrāśrayān*), the Bengali people lost their previous hold over North Bengal ; and the Bengal kings reigning in the latter part of the sixth century did not wield much political influence there. All such influence that we find to have ever been exercised by *mahārājādhirājas* Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāradeva was confined mostly to East, South and Central parts of Bengal (i.e. Samataṭa, Karṇasuvarṇa, etc.) and was scarcely felt in North Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana). It was at a time, when a race was thus being run by the chief ruling houses in Northern and Eastern Indian provinces, for achieving paramount suzerainty, that Śaśāṅka, mentioned by Yuan Chwang as the king of Karṇasuvarṇa in Eastern India, extended his political jurisdiction by occupying North Bengal, and later assumed the lofty title of Gauḍādhipa. *Harshacharita* tells us that during this time (about the last quarter of the sixth century A. D.) Prabhākaravardhana of Thaneswar also made extensive conquests in all directions, by fighting successfully against the Hūṇas, and also the kings of Sindhu, Gurjara, Gāndhāra, Lāṭa and Mālava. Bāṇabhaṭṭa informs us that Prabhākara once entrusted to his eldest son, the crown-prince Rājyavardhana, then 18 years old, an expedition, in company of his hereditary ministers and loyal feudatories against the Hūṇas. In describing the setting of the sun and rising of the moon on that terrible day on which, on arrival at the royal court, Rājya met his younger brother Harsha, then aged only about 15 years, and learnt of the untimely death of the monarch and their mother, Bāṇa makes an allusion to the gradual rise into eminence of king Śaśāṇka's *maṇḍala* (or circle of political jurisdiction). Nowhere in the whole of this book has Bāṇa made a clear mention of the name of the Gauḍādhipa, who was an inveterate enemy of his patron king's family, except in the following sentence where, like the rise of the moon, the rise into political prominence of Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, has been noted, though in a veiled manner, in a few words involved in puns. The passage runs thus—

"प्रकटकलङ्कमुदयमानम्···अकाशताकाशे शशाङ्कमण्डलम् ।"

(Chap. VI).

"The rising political circle or sphere of (king) Śaśāṅka was attaining prominence in the (political) horizon (of India), but with its infamy manifested (before the world)". There is a sly hint in many passages of *Harshacharita*, that the political power of this Bengal king could not be steady, as he could not attain greatness because of his mean character and cowardice. Bāṇa emphatically, but in a covert way, gives the cause of the unsteady nature of Śaśāṅka's royalty which, according to him, was "not to last in its perfect fullness for more than two days", like the beauty of the moon in the the sky. He says—

> "कातरस्य तु शशिन इव हरिणहृदयस्य पाण्डरपृष्ठस्य
> कुतो द्विरात्रमपि निश्चला लक्ष्मीः ।"

(Chap. VI)

So Śaśāṅka is here described as possessing "as timid a heart as that of a deer" and also being insincere, though outwardly honest and pure.

Who this Gauḍādhipa Śaśāṅka was is a puzzling question to historians. Yuan Chwang has described Śaśāṅka as the "recent" king of Karṇasuvarṇa. A commentator of *Harshacharita* has also given the Gauḍādhipa the same name, but the late Dr. Bühler mentioned (in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 70) that in one manuscript of *Harshacharita* the name of the Gauḍa king is stated as Narendragupta. Fitz-Edward Hall expressed his opinion that the king was a descendant of the Gupta family (whether Imperial, or Later, not being of course mentioned). The second of the three gold coins (the first being undoubtedly of Śaśāṅka), discovered in 1852, along with several others belonging to some of the Imperial Gupta rulers, in a village in the district of Jessore, bears the legend, *Narendravinata*, inscribed on its reverse side. According to Allan, this coin also belongs to Śaśāṅka. The late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali read on the obverse of this coin the name Samāchāradeva, on the strength of which, as well as the bull-emblem used therein, he felt inclined to connect Śaśāṅka with the family of Samāchāradeva of East Bengal. The late Prof. R. D. Banerji, however, tried to prove with somewhat greater force of argument based on numismatic evidence, that Śaśāṅka's second name was Narendragupta, and he thought that he was probably either a son or nephew (brother's son) of King Mahāsenagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. Dr. R. K. Mookerji went a step further, and accounted for Śaśāṅka's combination against Rājya with the king of Mālava, by saying that he had blood-relationship with the latter, both being of the Gupta lineage. R. D. Banerji also referred to the opinion of some numismatist, who held that the inscription on the alleged Śaśāṅka coins reads Narendrāditya ; and he inferred, with some degree of probability, that Śaśāṅka, like the former imperial Gupta rulers enjoyed a second name with an *āditya* title. I have in this connection to offer a suggestion that the compound word "*durṇarendr = ābhibhava-roshitaḥ*", meaning "enraged by the humiliation offered by that wicked Narendra", used by Bāṇa as an adjective to Harshavardhana, refers under the garb of a pun to Śaśāṅka. The allusion involved in the epithet had been used by the poet, when he described Harsha as having flown into a terrific rage, on hearing of the treacherous murder of his elder brother Rājyavardhana by the Gauḍa king. He compares Harsha with a snake (*āśīvisaḥ*) who is also "*durṇarendr=ābhibhava-roshitaḥ*" i. e. whose anger has been excited by the repulse of a snake-charmer (Narendra). In the case of Harsha the word *Narendra* may mean either simply a 'king' or 'a person of that name', but in either case it refers to King Śaśāṅka. It will not be out of place here, if we try to connect Śaśāṅka with another king of Karṇasuvarṇa, named Jayanāga, whose Vappaghoshavāṭa inscription was published by the late Dr. Barnett.[2] In this epigraph, written in characters of the well-formed upright Gupta type, prevailing in the latter half of the sixth century A. D., the king is described as possessing the epithets *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramabhāgavata*. The seal of this plate contains in an effaced condition the standing figure Lakshmī or Śrī with two elephants making *Kumbhābhisheka*. As Dr. Barnett remarks, we know nothing of any king of the name of

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[2] *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 60 ff. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, however, holds that Jayanāga followed Śaśāṅka, *H.B.R.* Vol. I, p. 80. But his view does not seem to be convincing. Drs. B. C. Sen (*S.H.A.B.I.* p. 261-62) and B. P. Sinha (*D.K.M.*, pp. 220 ff, pp. 229 ff.,) have placed Jayanāga after Śaśāṅka.

Jayanāga from other sources. But in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* we find a clear mention not only of a Gauḍa king of the name of Jayanāga ruling at such a time, but also the name of a city called Udumbara (*Māgadhāṁ janapadāṁ prāpya pure Udumbarāhvaye*), probably wrongly located here in Magadha (some portion of which might have also been included in the Gauḍa kingdom), which is mentioned in this copper-plate grant as being the name of a *vishaya* of which the administrator was Jayanāga's *sāmanta* called Nārāyaṇabhadra. A verse in the Buddhist book runs thus :—

"नागराजसमाह्वयो गौडराजा भविष्यति ।
अन्ते तस्य नृपे तिष्ठं जयाद्या वर्णतद्विशौ ॥"

The author, as it appears from the loose Sanskrit of the book, means to declare in the usual prophetic strain, that there will be a Gauḍa king, whose name will commence with the syllables "*Jaya*" and end in "*Naga*." It is clear then that Jayanāga, who is re-referred to in the above inscription as ruling in Karṇasuvarṇa is described as a Gauḍa king in this Buddhist treatise, just as Śaṣāṅka is mentioned by the Chinese traveller as king of Karṇasuvarṇa, but at the same time described both by Bāṇa and the author of this Buddhist work as a king of Gauḍa. We may now plausibly identify those coins (as was suggested to Dr. Barnett by Mr. Allan), which resemble to a very great extent those of Śaśāṅka, but bear the abbreviated name Jaya on the obverse, and a seated Lakshmī with an elephant sprinkling water on her on the reverse, as belonging to king Jayanāga of this inscription and the Buddhist work. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* makes Jayanāga almost a successor of Śaśāṅka, but in our opinion he and his son (stated to have reigned for a few months only) preceded Śaśāṅka as kings of Karṇasuvarṇa, at a time when Prabhākarvardhana or his father Ādityavardhana was ruling as a king of Thaneswar (See *Supra*, p. 164 f.n. 2). The Maukhari king Īśānavarman probably drove the Gauḍa people towards the sea-side during Jayanāga's reign. It cannot be stated definitely that Śaśāṅka had no blood-relationship with this Jayanāga of Central Bengal, and used only an *āditya* title, viz. *Narendrāditya* in the manner of the ancient Imperial Gupta monarchs. But this can only be more positively proved to be an historical fact by further discoveries, for which we must wait. Śaśāṅka might have been a Gupta or a Nāga, or neither of the two. It is not easy to ascertain or even to suggest the place of the original home of Śaśāṅka—the only correct view seems to be that he was an inhabitant of Bengal in the sixth-seventh century A.D.

Let us now examine how far Śaśāṅka succeeded in extending the sphere of his political influence. Though he had his first administrative centre established in Karṇasuvarṇa, he gradually extended his power by occupation of Puṇḍravardhana in the north, and some places in South Bihar e. g. Gayā, Rohitāśvagiri (or Rhotas hill) even up to Benares in the west, and the whole country, in the south including Midnapur, up to Koṅgoda province, situated in the modern Ganjam district, south of Orissa[3].

The Doobi copper-plate[4] of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, the son of king Susthitavarman bears a very important, though peculiar, historical information that the two princely sons of the latter viz. Supratishthitavarman and his younger brother Bhāskaravarman were invaded by a Gauḍa king and made captive by the latter who might have carried them both to Bengal and later on released. Scholars differ regarding the identity of this Gauḍa king. Some probably erroneously consider him to be Mahāsenagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty (though he is never known from any evidence to have ever been a Gauḍa monarch, or a conqueror of the Gauḍa kingdom). Others think more cogently that the Gauḍa King might have been Śaśāṅka himself. If, however, the latter identification ever proves true, then we should accept the view that Śaśaṅka invaded Kāmarūpa, before, of course, Bhāskaravarman had entered into close alliance with Harsha. In that case we may infer that this alliance between the Kāmarūpa and and the Vardhana families owed its origin to Śaśāṅka's earlier invasion of Kāmarūpa whose king Bhāskarvarman wanted to strengthen his own military power to be used against the Bengal King, Śaśāṅka, with the more helpful and mightier force of arms of Harsha. It may only be remarked in this connection that Harsha proceeded towards Bengal against the Gauḍa king, Śaśāṅka in A. D. 606.

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[3] R. D. Banerji writes in his *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 127, that "certain ruins associated with the name of Śaśāṅka in the Midnapur district tend to show that Śaśāṅka's dominions extended from the Northern part of Murshidabad district to that of Balasore."

[4] *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XI, pp. 33-38; XII, 16-33; and *E.I.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 287 ff.

Some important historical information has since been obtained by the publication by Dr. R. C. Majumdar of the two Midnapore copper-plates[5] of king Śaśāṅka's time containing some date-figures of which no definite reading could be deciphered and ascertained. Dr. Majumdar provisionally read the year figure in plate I as 309 or only 19, and he opined that if the reading be really 309 it may be referred to the Gupta era and the number therefore, becomes equivalent to A. D. 628-29. He also remarked that if the figure be read 19 only, it may be taken as the 19th regnal year of Śaśāṅka. Again the figure in plate II is taken by Dr. Majumdar as

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[5] *J. R. A. S. B.*, (Letters), Vol. XI, pp. 1-9.

8 *Saṁvat*, which may have recorded the 8th regnal year of Śaśāṅka. So according to such an assumption there is a difference of 11 years between the time of plate II and of plate I. We must not forget in this connection the date A. D. 619 of the Ganjam copper-plate. If, however, we take the date in Midnapore plate I as 309 G. E. (=A.D. 628-29) we have to assume wrongly that the Orissa region was conquered by Śaśāṅka first in A. D. 619 and the Midnapore region in A. D. 628-29. This will seem absurd, because Śaśāṅka must not have left the Midnapore region unconquered before proceeding towards South Orissa. Hence it is more probable that Śaśāṅka made his conquest before his 8th and 19th regnal year of his reigning period, and these years might have fallen between A. D. 594 and 605, i.e. before Harsha's succession to the Vardhana throne after Rājyavardhana's death. During this time Śaśāṅka was already a great ruler in the east (*Śrī-Śaśāṅko mahīṁ pāti chaturjjaladhi-mekhalāṁ*) as mentioned in both the Midnapore plates. So it appears to be an historical fact that Śaśāṅka's supremacy as overlord extended throughout South Rāḍhā (i.e. the Midnapore region). reaching upto the Ganjam region in Southern Orissa.

But we must remember that at first Śaśāṅka was a feudal chief having the use of the title *Mahāsāmanta* only (used sometimes by smaller kings in place of the title *Mahārāja*), as is evidenced by the inscription cut in reverse, found at the hill-fort of Rhotasgadh in the Shahabad district. It is a stone-mould or matrix for casting copper-seals in relief, meant to be attached to copper-plate charters. It bears the inscription *Śrīmahāsāmanta-Śaśāṅkadevasya*, the letters belonging to the 6th-7th century A. D. We are also told by the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* that the heroic king Soma (i. e. Śaśāṅka) will rule over the Gangetic valley up to Benares. This extension of his dominion and influence must have taken place before he came into conflict with king Harsha. Within about a decade after this conflict, i.e. in Gupta era 300, or A. D. 619 we find Śaśāṅka a powerful monarch enjoying an imperial rank, having feudal rulers acknowledging his suzerainty. For, we learn from the Ganjam copper-plate of *Mahārāja-mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja II of the Śilodbhavakula, granting a village to a Brāhmaṇa, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in A. D. 619 (the charter having been issued from the seat of the provincial government in Koṅgoda on the river Śālimā), that he was the provincial ruler in that region under the suzerainty of *Mahārājādhirāja* Śaśāṅka, who was then ruling "on the earth encircled by the girdle of waves of the four oceans and containing islands, towns and ports."[6]

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[6] Cf. the phrases :—

"चतुरुदधिसलिलवीचि-मेखलानिलीनायां सद्वीप-नगर-पत्तनवत्यां वसुन्धरायां गौप्ताब्दे वर्षशतत्रये वर्तमाने महाराजाधिराज-श्रीशशाङ्कराजे शासति ।" *E. I.*, Vol. VI, p. 144.

Thus we see that Śaśāṅka was wielding great power as Gauḍādhipa with right to the use of the epithet *Mahārajādhirāja*, at least, up to the year A. D. 619.

In his glorious days Prabhākaravardhana of Thaneswar was able to keep the king of Mālava (probably Devagupta, and *not* Śilāditya of West Mālava as suggested by Dr. R. K. Mookerji) in check, and on one occasion compelled him to lend the services of his two sons, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, as companions of Rājya and Harsha, their other intimate companion being their maternal uncle's son Bhaṇḍi. Owing to Prabhākara's great political power, the Maukharis remained somewhat in submission to him for, we find him giving his daughter Rājyaśrī, in marriage with Avantivarman's son, king Grahavarman, then ruling in Kuśasthala or Kānyakubja (Kanauj). But it appears that the Mālava king was not very obliging to Prabhākara and that he always harboured a spirit of rebellion. When Prabhākara died of fever and the news reached the ears of Śaśāṅka, he became anxious to enter into an alliance with the king of Mālava, in order to overthrow the kingdom of Thaneswar and, if possible, become the emperor of Uttarāpatha (Northern India). As soon as the news[7] of

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[7] Cf. "यस्मिन्नहनि अवनिपतिरुपरत इत्यभूद्वार्ता तस्मिन्नेव देवी ग्रहवर्म्मा दुरात्मना मालवराजेन जीवलोकमात्मनः सुकृतेन सह त्याजितः। भर्तृदारिकाऽपि राज्यश्रीः कालायसनिगडचुम्बितचरणा चौराङ्गना इव संयता कान्यकुब्जे कारायां निक्षिप्ता।"

Harshacharita, Chap. VI.

Prabhākara's death spread, the Mālava king proceeded towards Kanauj, killed its king Grahavarman and threw his wife Rājyaśrī into a dungeon, putting iron fetters on her feet, as if she were a brigand's wife. Bāṇa further refers to the report that the Mālava king was planning an attack on Thaneswar also, for he thought that Prabhākara's demise had left the army of Thaneswar without a leader. On hearing of the disaster which had befallen his sister, Rājyavardhana placed Harsha in charge of the administration of the kingdom, and himself started, taking only Bhaṇḍi with him and a troop of ten thousand cavalry, to give battle to the Mālava king. [Long after, a cavalry officer delivered to Harsha the message of the murder of his brother by the king of Gauḍa, who was no other than our Śaśāṅka.[8]]

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[8] Cf. "तस्माच्च हेलानिर्ज्जितमालवानीकमपि गौडाधिपेन मिथ्योपचारोपचितविश्वासं मुक्तशस्त्रमेकाकिनं विश्रब्धं स्वभवन एव भ्रातरं व्यापादितमश्रौषीत् ।"

Harshacharita, Chap. VI.

In the Banskhera (*E. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 208 ff) and the Madhuban copper plates (*E. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 67 ff) of Harsha we have the following information—

"...परमसौगतः सुगत इव परहितैकरतः परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीराज्यवर्द्धन—

राजानो युधि दुष्टवाजिन इव श्रीदेवगुप्तादयः
कृत्वा येन कशाप्रहारविमुखाः सर्व्वे समं संयताः ।
उत्खाय द्विषतो विजित्य वसुधां कृत्वा प्रजानां प्रियं
प्राणानुज्झितवानरातिभवने सत्यानुरोधेन यः ॥"

तस्यानुजः...परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज—श्रीहर्षः..."

This messenger told Harsha that his brother (Rājyavardhana) had easily subdued the army of the Mālava king and that his trust had been increased by a show of false civilities by the Gauḍa king. Then unarmed and alone he had approached his enemy but had been slain by the king of Gauḍa in his own camp. We shall now examine whether Śaśāṅka did really assassinate Rājyavardhana 'treacherously.' Bāṇa has very cleverly avoided giving a clear account of the reason for Rājya's acceptance of an invitation for going to the camp of such a powerful adversary as Śaśāṅka. It has been stated before that the Bengal king combined with the Mālava king after Prabhākara's death, and the first fruit of this political alliance was the death of Grahavarman caused by the Mālava king. It is more likely that the alliance of these two kings took place after the death of Grahavarman. After this Rājya and Bhaṇḍi marched against, defeated and captured the Mālava king. It is not clear from Bāṇa's description whether the Mālava king was killed by them in action. On the presumption that the Mālava king's alliance with Śaśāṅka took place after the death of Grahavarman, it may be suggested that the Bengal king, after such an alliance, left Bengal and laid siege to the Maukhari capital Kanauj, and in that connection committed the foul murder of Grahavarman's brother-in-law, king Rājyavardhana, who had only recently succeeded to the throne of Thaneswar, and was thinking of annexing more dominions to his already extensive hereditary kingdom. It seems that this murder of Rājya took place in or near Kanauj. Bāṇa says that a raid was made by the Gauḍa king and his followers on Kuśasthala or Kanauj. At this time Rājyaśrī, who had been kept enchained in the dungeon of her own capital by the Mālava king, was rescued by a Gupta nobleman, who seems to have been a kind-hearted person, though a partisan of the Mālava or the Gauḍa king. Or it may be that this Gupta *kulaputra* was a friend of the Maukhari family. After her release Rājyaśrī heard of her brother's murder and then fled away towards some forests in the Vindhya ranges spreading here and there in the Madhya Pradesh. The Mālava king occupied the town of Kanauj after killing Grahavarman, and kept close vigilance on the ex-queen, but he was made to leave the city by the forces of Rājya and Bhaṇḍi. In the meantime, Śaśāṅka proceeded towards Kanauj, either to join the Mālava king on the way or to wrest the kingdom from the hands of Rājya who was now in charge of his sister's kingdom. We have remarked before that Bāṇabhaṭṭa did not clearly state why Rājya accepted the invitation of Śaśāṅka for coming over to his camp. It is quite clear from Bāṇa's record that Bhaṇḍi was not with Rājya, when the latter was invited by Śaśāṅka. Bhaṇḍi had already been sent back by Rājya[9] to Thaneswar with all the booty, including the whole force and royal equipage of the Mālava king. On his being asked by Harsha,[10] Bhaṇḍi related later on that he had only heard from people of Rājyaśrī's rescue and flight towards the Vindhya forest. Elsewhere also[11] it is narrated, that during the raid by the Gauḍa king either on Kanauj or on a kingdom near about it, she was rescued by a nobleman named Gupta. We agree with the late R. P. Chanda[12] that Rājya at first defeated the Mālava king, then sent back his cousin Bhaṇḍi to Thaneswar, and then marched towards Kanauj to effect the release of his sister. But we cannot accept that particular view of Chanda, which has been supported by Dr. R. C. Majumdar[13], that Rājyavardhana was possibly "defeated in a fair fight and subsquently killed by Śaśāṅka while in a captive state. Had it been a case of death in a fair fight,[14] Harsha probably would not have started on an expensive and elaborate expedition against Śaśāṅka at this tender age. He undoubtedly obtained ready help from his vassals and other independent rulers, because of his appeal to them against the treachery committed by the Bengal king. There was no record of any fight fought between Rājya and Śaśāṅka, and it may be presumed that after the Mālava king's defeat by the enormous army of Rājya, Śaśāṅka did not consider it expedient to enter into an open fight. Both these writers are reluctant to hold the view that there was at all any treachery played by

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[9] Cf. "पश्यतु देवः श्रीराज्यवर्द्धनभुजवलार्ज्जितं साधनं सपरिवर्हं मालवराजस्य"।

Harshacharita, Chap. VII.

[10] Cf. "समतिक्रान्ते च कियत्यपि काले भ्रातृमरणवृत्तान्तमप्राक्षीत्। अकथयच्च यथावृत्तं भण्डिः। अथ नरपतिस्तमुवाच—'रान्यश्रीव्यतिकरः कः। स पुनरवादीत्—'देवभूयं गते देवे राज्यवर्द्धने गुप्तनाम्ना च गृहीते कुशस्थले देवी राज्यश्रीः परिभ्रश्य बन्धनाद् विन्ध्याटवीं सपरिवारा प्रविष्टा इति लोकतो वार्त्तामशृणवम्। अन्वेष्टारस्तु तां प्रति प्रभूता प्रहिता जना नाद्यापि निवर्त्तन्ते' इति। तच्चाकर्ण्य भूपतिरब्रवीत्—'किमन्यैरनुपदिभिः यत्र सा तत्र परित्यक्तान्यकृत्यः स्वयमहं यास्यामि। भवानपि कटकमादाय प्रवर्त्ततां गौडाभिमुखं' इत्युक्त्वा चोत्थाय स्नानभुवमगात्।"

Harshacharita, Chap. VII.

[11] Cf. भुक्तवांश्च बन्धनात् प्रभृति विस्तरतः स्वसुः कान्यकुब्जात् गौडसंभ्रमे गुप्तितो गुप्तनाम्ना कुलपुत्रेण निष्कासनं, निर्गतायाश्च राज्यवर्द्धनमरणश्रवणं, श्रुत्वा चाहारनिराकरणं, अनाहारपरिहृतायाश्च विन्ध्याटवीपर्य्यटनखेदं, जातनिर्व्वेदायाः पावकप्रवेशोपक्रमणं यावत् सर्व्वमशृणोत् व्यतिकरं परिजनतः।"

Harshacharita, Chap. VII.

[12] *Gauḍarājamālā* (Varendra Research Society's publication, Rajshahi), pp. 8-10.

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[13] *Early History of Bengal*, p. 17. (Dacca University Bulletin).

[14] The late Mr. R. D. Banerji, however, surmised (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 126) that Rājyavardhana II "himself was killed in a duel in the camp of the king of Gauḍa." Dr. B. C. Sen also finds a probability of such a murder (*S. H. A. I. B.*, p. 267).

Śaśāṅka in killing Rājyavardhana, in spite of the clear accounts of both Bāṇa and Yuan Chwang. Dr. Majumdar remarks that we should "revise the opinion about Śaśāṅka as handed down by the historians." The spirit of Bāṇa's work is to give vent to his patron king Harsha's, as well as his own, wrath against Śaśāṅka for his foul action. It is only on account of his treachery that Bāṇa gives him contemptuous epithets like *Gauḍādhama*, *Gauḍa-pāshaṇḍa* and *Gauḍabhujaṅga*. According to R. P. Chanda and R. C. Majumdar it was not possible for Rājya to have entered his enemy's camp with his weapons laid aside (*muktaśastra*). Let us in this connection refer to a very significant passage in the *Harsha-charita* in which Harsha declares that none but the Gauḍa king, who was a designer of black courses (*Kṛishṇavartmaprasūtiḥ*) could lay low such a king with past records of undissembling heroism to his credit, when he was unarmed. The passage runs thus—

"गौडाधिपमपहाव कस्तादृशं महापुरुषं तत्क्षण एव निर्व्याजभुजनिर्ज्जितसमस्तराजकं मुक्तशस्त्रं कलसयोनिमिव कृष्णवर्त्मप्रसूतिरीदृशेन सर्व्वलोकविगर्हितेन मृत्युना शमयेदार्य्यम्।"

(*Harshacharita*, Chap. VI)

The poet here alludes with the help of puns to the strategic death of Droṇa (*Kalasayoni*) who laid aside his arms and was forthwith killed by Dhṛishṭadyumna (*Kṛsihṇavartmaprasūti*, lit. born of sacrificial fire). This is also a case of treacherous slaying engineered by Kṛishṇa.

From the statements of Bāṇa we find that neither Harsha nor Bhaṇḍi knew clearly about the allurement offered by Śaśāṅka to Rājya. Bāṇa in his book collects a series of historical and other traditional instances of political murders, brought about by enemies, by taking advantage of the foolishness or inadvertence on the part of murdered kings. These illustrations were placed before King Harsha, by one of his trusted and able officers, named Skandagupta, for his careful consideration on the eve of his preparation for an expedition against Śaśāṅka. He was specially requested "to dismiss universal confidingness", so agreeable to the habits of the people of Thaneswar, and springing from their innate frankness of spirit. The officer states thus :—

"तदियमात्मदेशाचारोचिता स्वभावसरलहृदयजा त्यजतां सर्व्वविश्वासिता ।"

(*Harshacharita*, Ch. VI)

He cites these cases of "disasters due to carelessness" and lays special stress upon "the blunders of heedless men on account of women." He would perhaps not have invited the special attention of Harsha to them, unless Bāṇa was conscious that Rājya's own death must have been due to a cause which involved his heedless action concerning some woman. \An old commentator of the *Harshacharita*, Śaṅkara by name, while explaining the two introductory verses of the sixth chapter, speaks of Śaśāṅka as the murderer of Rājya and says that he enticed the Vardhana king through a spy by the offer of his daughter's hand. Here we may draw the attention of scholars to the two introductory verses[15] of chapter VI of the *Harshacharita*. The first of these two verses contains a suggestion as to why Rājyavàrdhana was brought to the camp of Śaśāṅka (cf. also the significant word *arāti-bhavane* of the Banskhera plate of Harsha) and murdered by that *vijigīshu* king. Herein Śaśāṅka is compared with Kṛitānta (the god of death). This king, being an aspirant conqueror, wanted to collect valiant men to his side, brought through his secret agencies, just as the god of death in Hindu mythology is described as sending out his own messengers to persons before their death. Collection of valiant heroes (*Śūra-saṁgraha*) to one's side may be for the purpose of their annihilation or for compelling them to agree to a forced alliance. In the second verse, however, the incident of the murder of Rājyavardhana is pointedly expressed, though in a succint manner through puns. Here Bāṇa asserts that the crime of murdering a confiding man (*visrabdha-ghāta-doshaḥ*) by a treacherous man (*khala*) certainly produces resentment in the mind of a heroic man (*vīrakopakaraḥ*) and such a murder is sure to lead to the death of the murderer himself. The simile introduced is very apt. For, the poet latently compares, Śaśāṅka with an audacious elephant, Rājyavardhana with a young tree and Harsha with a lion and says that an elephant who wantonly breaks a young tree robs the sleep of a lion by the sound of the breaking of it and the latter proceeds to retaliate on the elephant.

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[15] These two verses summarise the contents of the whole chapter (vi), called *rājā-pratijñā-varnaṇaṁ* i. e. 'the description of king Harsha's resolve' to proceed in expedition against Śaśāṅka to retaliate the treacherous murder of his elder brother, Rājyavardhana. The verses run thus—

उच्चित्योच्चित्य भुवि प्रहितनिगूढात्मदूत-नीतानाम् ।
विजिगीषुरिव कृतान्तः शूराणां संग्रहं कुरुते ॥१॥
विस्रब्धघातदोषः स्ववधाय खलस्य वीरकोपकरः ।
नवसद्भङ्गध्वनिरिव हरिनिद्रातस्करः करिणः ॥२॥

In our opinion these two verses and their implied meaning escaped the notice of the late R. P. Chanda and Dr. R. C. Majumdar. There can be no doubt that the word *khala* (a treacherous man) refers clearly to Śaśāṅka who killed the *visrabdha* (confiding) person, king Rājyavardhana, whose *ghāta* (murder) raised the *vīra* i.e. Harsha to wrath and the latter proceeded to bring about the death of Śaśāṅka, if possible, by way of retaliation.

So the murder of Rājyavardhana was absolutely a treacherous act on the part of Śaśāṅka. But some of our historian friends are averse to believing this story on the plea that Bāṇa and Yuan Chwang both nourished partisan spirit within them and they try to reject these facts expressed by contemporary writers and chroniclers by calling them disputable, incorrect, unreliable, conflicting and undependable, although they accept other parts of their records as reliable, because perhaps they suit their own favourite historical views. Such logic should not, however, be resorted to by historians.

As has been stated before that the first ball of doubt and suspicion in this connection regarding some statements of Bāṇa, Yuan Chwang and even of some epigraphic records was set rolling in Bengal by our late esteemed friends, R. P. Chanda and R. D. Banerji, and their views have been endorsed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, both in the Dacca University's *The History of Bengal* (Vol. I, pp. 72ff.) and in Volume III (*The Classical Age*) of 'The History and Culture of the Indian People' (pp. 121 ff.). Dr. Majumdar at first felt inclined even to reject the charge of murder of king Rājyavardhana by the Gauḍa king; but it was some relief to find him stating in '*The Classical Age*' (pp. 122-23) and that "while there is no doubt that Rājyavardhana was killed by Śaśāṅka, it is not just or reasonable to accept the view that this was accomplished by treachery." But political murder of an adversary by a king is not rare in history. Even such a murder is supported by ancient Indian political writers, such as Kauṭilya and others who did not fail to justify treacherous methods to encompass the enemy's end. As a matter of fact, all sources supply clear evidence that Rājyavardhana was *treacherously* assassinated by Śaśāṅka. We may concede with Dr. Majumdar that militarily and diplomatically Śaśāṅka was great, but like the Śaśāṅka of the horizon (the moon) he might have had some black spots on his character. From the moral point of view he may be described as hard-hearted, cruel and treacherous. We must not have the predilection to exculpate Śaśāṅka from any misdeed perpetrated by him as an ambitious monarch and boost him up to full and undue eminence.

Now, Śaṅkara, the commentator of the *Harshacharita* adds that while the unlucky king with his retinue was participating in a dinner[16] in his enemy's camp, he was killed by the Gauḍa king in disguise. A famous verse in Harsha's own royal grants,[17] Banskhera and Madhuvana copper-plates, states that Rājyavardhana, after having defeated his enemies, and made Devagupta and others captive, gave up his own life in his enemy's camp, where he went to keep his word of honour (*satyānurodhena*). It is quite plausible, that during a period of truce the offer of the hand of his daughter to Rājyavardhana was made by Śaśāṅka, and lest Rājyavardhana's heedless compliance with such an invitation sent through a messenger should tarnish the reputation of the king, Bāṇa refrained from giving full details of this incident in his book. But the poet did not fail to remind Harsha that his elder brother acted foolishly in placing confidence in the false courtesies of Śaśāṅka. The Chinese traveller, Yuan Chwang has also narrated that Rājyavardhana, "soon after his accession was treacherously murdered by Śaśāṅka, the wicked king of Karṇasuvarṇa in East India, a persecutor of Buddhism". So there ought not to remain any doubt about Bāṇa's statement that Śaśāṅka, in spite of his greatness as a conqueror adopted a very vile and treacherous method of killing Rājyavardhana.[18] We do not also feel inclined to support the view of R. P. Chanda[19] that the Gupta nobleman's rescue of Rājyaśrī from prison was undertaken at the instance of Śaśāṅka who, in his opinion, in this affair showed a noble instinct of heart, so hard to expect during war-time. We rather think that the Gupta nobleman belonged to a family which was friendly to the house of the Maukharis or the Vardhanas or to both. Even supposing he was a partisan of Śaśāṅka, he did this noble deed at his own instance, and not at his king's bidding.

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[16] The commentator says :—"अनेनोच्छ्रायार्थः संगृहीतः। तथाहि, कृतोऽन्तो विनाशो येन स शशाङ्कनामा गौडाधिपतिः। शूराणां राज्यवर्द्धनानुचराणां तत्सहितानां संग्रहमकरोत्।……तथाहि शशाङ्केन विश्वासार्थं दूतमुखेन कन्याप्रदानमुक्त्वा प्रलोभितो राज्यवर्द्धनः स्वगेहे भुञ्जमान एव छद्मना व्यापादितः।"

[17] *E. I.*, Vols. I and IV.

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[18] Dr. D. C. Ganguly also believes in the story of treacherous murder of Rājyavardhana by Śaśāṅka (*I. H. Q*, Vol. XII, p. 4.). Dr. B. C. Sen, however, thinks that "Rājyavardhana's death was a sequel to the unfinished peace talk, but Śaśāṅka's personal responsibility for this incident cannot be correctly determined." See *S. H. A. I. B.*, p. 267.

[19] *Gauḍarājmālā*, p. 10.

Śaśāṅka could not succeed to the throne of Thaneswar and establish his universal suzerainty in Kanauj. He had to remain very much afraid of an attack on his eastern kingdom by Harsha, who on pressing requests from the State-ministers accepted the kingship after Rājya's death. Bent on avenging his brother's murder, he started with a vast army against Śaśāṅka. He issued a proclamation through his Minister of Peace and War (*mahāsandnivigrahādhikṛita*) to all known kings, that they should either surrender or give him battle. When the first day's march was over, Harsha received an emissary from the court of Bhāskaravarman, king of Prāgjyotisha (Kāmarūpa or Assam), who wanted to enter into an alliance with him, and sent him innumerable presents. Harsha accepted this offer of friendship, and sent back the messenger with many presents in return. It was an alliance for their mutual good, as they were neighbouring adversaries of their common enemy, Śaśāṅka of Bengal. After Harsha had marched for a few days, he met Bhaṇḍi, who was returning with the booty obtained in his war against the Mālava king, and heard from him all in detail about his brother's murder and Rājyaśrī's escape. The king requested Bhaṇḍi to proceed against the king of Bengal, and himself entered into the Vindhya forests in search of his lost sister, whom he at last succeeded in discovering there. Harsha rejoined his camp on the banks of the Ganges. Bāṇa abruptly closes his narrative here. From his account it is clear here that Śāśāṅka withdrew towards his kingdom without any success at Kanauj, which Harsha occupied and whence he administered the empire in co-partnership with his sister. Very probably, Harsha removed his own capital from Thaneswar to Kanauj, after his return from the first expedition against Śaśāṅka.

Now let us see what the results of the elaborate military expedition of Harsha against Gauḍa were. R. D. Banerji was of the opinion that Bhāskaravarman joined Harsha during the latter's march, because he was himself hostile to Śaśāṅka, the king of Bengal. From the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, we find that in this great campaign against king Śaśāṅka, Harsha proceeded towards East India, reached the town of Puṇḍra and caused a great havoc amongst the Bengali people. Then this Buddhist treatise sums up the results of the war in the following lines :—

[1]"पराजयामास सोमाख्यं दुष्टकर्मानुचारिणम् ।
ततो निषिद्धः सोमाख्यो स्वदेशेनावतिष्ठतः ॥
निवर्तयामास हकाराख्यः म्लेच्छराज्येमपूजितः ।
तुष्टकर्मा हकाराख्यो नृपः श्रेयसा चार्थधर्म्मिणः ॥
स्वदेशेनैव प्रयातः यथेष्टगतिनापि वा ।"

The author here means to say that Harsha defeated Soma (Śaśāṅka), the pursuer of wicked deeds, who was forced to remain confined within his own kingdom, and prevented him from moving further towards the west ; and Harsha himself, not being honoured with welcome in these eastern frontier countries returned leisurely to his own kingdom, with the satisfaction that he had achieved victory. Smith's inference that Śaśāṅka "escaped with little loss," and that "his kingdom became subject to Harsha at a later date" appears to be correct. There is little doubt that as the result of the first campaign Harsha could not establish political supremacy over Gauḍa i.e. Puṇḍravardhana and Karṇasuvarṇa. It was probably after Śaśāṅka's death which must have taken place sometime between A.D. 619 and A.D. 637, when Yuan Chwang travelled over Magadha and Karṇasuvarṇa that Harsha could take entire possession of his enemy's kingdom. Hence the pilgrim referred to Śaśāṅka as a 'recent' king. Śaśāṅka enjoyed overlordship in eastern provinces up to the Ganjam district in the south-east, because in Koṅgoda the Mahāsāmanta Mādhavavarman was his feudatory in A.D. 619.

That Karṇasuvarṇa was later occupied by King Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, is indicated by the fact that the Assam king issued his royal charter (copper-plate grants discovered in Nidhanpur, Sylhet), from his victorius camp in Karṇasuvarṇa. We have shown elsewhere (*Dacca Review*, 1913) that "Harsha, after taking possession of the kingdom of his brother's murderer from his own hands at some later date (during Śaśāṅka's life time) or (after Śaśāṅka's death) from those of his unknown successor, might have made it over to Bhāskaravarman". If Harsha took possession of Karṇasuvarṇa[20] during Śaśāṅka's life-time, he must have done so by his second campaign, with the help of his ally Bhāskaravarman. Later on Śaśāṅka, if still alive, lost his overlordship in Koṅgoda, for the Chinese pilgrim says that Harsha led an expedition in A.D. 643 against this country and succeeded in extending his own dominion up to that limit. Śaśāṅka's defeat is also indicated by the gold coins which were debased by a large admixture of silver. So with his lofty aspirations Śaśāṅka achieved, in the beginning of his career, some success in establishing an extensive Gauḍa dominion, which lasted only 17 years and a few months and days (according to the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* verses no. 748-749). He passed away leaving probably no successor, his own kingdom of Karṇasuvarṇa slipping into the hands of the neighbouring king of Assam. The kings of Assam could not retain it long, for we know how Bengal and Magadha gradually grew into a great empire under the Pāla kings about a century later. From Yuan Chwang's accounts we find that our modern Bengal Presidency was divided into a number of smaller States, *viz*, Kajaṅgala, Puṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa, Tāmralipti and Karṇasuvarṇa. The pilgrim does not mention the name of any king of these States, probably because all of them, except Karṇasuvarṇa which was subject to the king of Assam, formed parts of the empire of Harshavardhana.

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[20] R. D. Banerji says (vide *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 129) that "there is no doubt about the fact that eventually he (i.e. Śaśāṅka) was driven out of Karṇasuvarṇa. It is quite possible that this event had taken place before the date of the Ganjam plates and at that time he had lost his possessions in Bengal and was the master of Orissa only." To us such a view seems to be doubtful indeed.

Let us now proceed to examine another allegation against the character of Śaśāṅka, *viz*, that he was a persecutor of Buddhism. From the bull-emblem on his coins and Yuan Chwang's statements, it is clear that this Bengal king was a devotee of Śiva, like his Mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* calls him *dvijāhvayaḥ*, i.e. Brāhmaṇic, meaning thereby that he was a follower of the Brāhmaṇic faith. Śaśāṅka had all the ill-repute of being a hater of Buddhism, almost bent on a total destruction of that faith in the places where he went for victory. The Chinese traveller has said in one place of his accounts that king Harsha got an oracle, as it were, from the image of a Bodhisattva to the effect that he should accept the sovereignty, and "then raise Buddhism from the ruin to which it had been brought by the king of Karṇasuvarṇa". In another place he says that "at Kuśinagara he felt distressed because by Śaśāṅka's extermination of Buddhism, the groups of brethren were all broken up". It is also narrated by the pilgrim that "in *recent* times King Śaśāṅka, having tried in vain to efface the foot-prints, caused the stone to be thrown into the Ganges". This refers to the stone with Buddha's foot-prints at Pāṭaliputra. The pilgrim further relates that at Bodh-Gayā "in *recent* times Śaśāṅka, the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi tree, destroyed its roots down to the water, and burnt what remained", and that the king had "the image (of Buddha) removed and replaced by one of Śiva". Because the pilgrim was himself a Buddhist, Messrs. Chanda and Banerji could not fully rely on his statements. \ Chanda also suggested that at the root of Śaśāṅka's ill-feeling towards the Buddhists was probably the fact that Buddhists of these places in Magadha and elsewhere entered into some conspiracy with Harshavardhana against him, and he therefore wanted to punish them by such oppressive persecution. Otherwise, it is not quite possible to explain such persecution in the seventh century when followers of Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism and Jainism lived side by side in perfect peace and amity, almost in all places in Eastern India. The Chinese traveller refers to the existence of Buddhist monasteries side by side with Deva temples, not only in Magadha and other parts of Bengal, but also in Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital of Śaśāṇka. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[21] also states thus in a prophetic strain : "The person Soma (=Śaśānka) who will be a heroic king in countries on the bank of the Ganges even up to Benares, will destroy beautiful images of the great teacher (Buddha). Relying on the heretics he will also cause to be burnt many a holy trace (or relic). Then this irascible, greedy, self-sufficient and ill-esteemed man will break down all monasteries, gardens and shrines and also the dwellings of the Nirgranthas on earth, and thus put an obstacle to their religious profession". We think that the author of this Buddhist treatise, written approximately in the 12th century A. D., could not have cherished any special ill-feeling against Śaśāṅka, as has been ascribed by some scholars to Yuan Chwang and Bāṇabhaṭṭa. In our opinion, it will not be justifiable to exculpate Śaśāṅka from his cruel actions. We may admire his great heroism, but his impolitic and impious actions no one, much less an historian, should support.

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[21] Cf. "सोमाख्योपि ततो राजा एकवीरो भविष्यति ।
गङ्गातीरपर्यन्तं वाराणस्यामतःपरम् ॥
नाशयिष्यति दुर्मेधः शास्तुर्विम्बां मनोरमाम् ।
जिनैस्तु कथितं पूर्वं धर्मसेतुमनल्पकम् ॥
दाहापयति दुर्मेधः तीर्थिकस्य वचे रतः ।
ततोऽसौ क्रुद्धलुब्धस्तु मिथ्यामानी ह्यसंमतः ॥
विहारारामचैत्यांश्च निर्ग्रन्यां वसथां भुवि ।
भेत्स्यते च सदा सर्वां प्रतिरोधमकारकः ॥"

Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, p. 634.

We shall now state briefly the general social and economic condition of the people of Bengal and other adjoining kingdoms at the time of Śaśāṅka, as revealed in the accounts[22] of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang. The people of these parts of Eastern India lived both in villages and large towns. There were in the towns large structures made of stone and brick with artistic ornamentations, rendered more beautiful by the images of gods, both Buddhistic and Brāhmaṇic, carved on them. In Bengal, there were both Buddhist monasteries and Brāhmaṇic Deva temples. The

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[22] Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II., pp. 182-99.

Buddhists in Bengal belonged to both the Hīnayāna (Sammitiya) and the Mahāyāna schools.

The north-western portion of Bengal, then known as Kajaṅgala (Rājmahal side) was low and moist, yielding good crops. The climate was warm. The people were straightforward and esteemed learning.

North Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana) had a flourishing population with "tanks, hospices and flowery groves". Jack-fruits were available in plenty. Besides the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas there lived in north Bengal many Digambara Nirgranthas (Jainas)[23]. Belief in oracles was current.

Further east in Assam (Kāmarūpa) the same climatic condition prevailed and the people were honest, small in stature and black-looking. Their speech differed a little from that of Mid-India. Their disposition was violent, but they were persevering students and were believers only in Devas and not in Buddhism. There was not one Buddhist monastery in Assam ; and those who were devoted to Buddhism had to perform their acts of devotion in secret. Even the reigning king Bhāskaravarman is described by the Chinese traveller as "a Brāhmiṇ by caste", hinting thereby that he was also a believer in Brāhmaṇism.

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[23] This is testified to by some Jain relics discovered in North Bengal and deposited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

Elephants of war were available in the south-west of Assam. On the western side of Karṇasuvarṇa also, i.e. in the woods of Champā (modern Bhagalpur) large wild elephants were found. Koṅgoda in south Orissa, "produced large dark-coloured elephants which were capable of long journeys."

East Bengal, then called Samataṭa, situated on the sea-side contained adherents of the Sthavira school of Buddhist monks and Digambara Nirgranthas and also followers of Devas. A place of trading and commercial importance of those days was the port-town of Tāmralipti (modern Tamluk) which stood on a bay. "Rare valuables" were collected here and as it was a trade-centre, people of this place were generally prosperous. Farming in this part of Bengal was quite good, and fruits and flowers abounded ; the climate was hot and the people were rude but courageous. As regards Śaśāṅka's own centre of administration in central Bengal, viz. the country of Karṇasuvarṇa, it is described as being "well-inhabited", full of rich people and having a temperate climate. The people were men "of good character" and "patrons of learning". The adherents of Buddhism belonged to the Sammitiya school ; there were followers of various other religions with Deva temples in large numbers. In three of the Buddhist monasteries of this part of Bengal, milk-products were not taken as food in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta. By the side of the capital city was the Lo-to-mo-ti (Raktamṛittikā-Rāṅgāmāṭi) monastery which was "a magnificent and famous establishment, the resort of illustrious brethren."

The hilly country of Koṅgoda is described by the Chinese traveller as "bordering on a bay of the sea, with regular harvests and having a hot climate". The people here, are described as "tall and valorous and of a black complexion, having some sense of propriety and not very deceitful". There were in this country many towns, in which there "was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring couutries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy". "As the country was on the sea-side it contained many rare precious commodities" and the currency was "cowries and pearls".

From this general survey we can say that the Bengali people and the neighbouring inhabitants of Assam and Orissa had a high standard of culture and civilisation in the seventh century A. D.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that when the Kāmarūpa rulers in the east, the Magadha kings in the middle and the Maukhari chiefs in the near west were measuring one another's military strength, there arose in the political firmament of Bengal a moon-like king (named Śaśāṅka) with some spot in his character, who aspired to outshine all of them, but who was ultimately forced to fade away in the glittering light of the sun-like Harshavardhana, who alone succeeded in establishing a very extensive North Indian empire, which unfortunately could not last longer than his own life, as was the case with Yaśodharman of Mālava, a century before him.

CHAPTER VIII

KINGDOM OF ORISSA (UḌRA-KOṄGODA-KALIṄGA)

Next we take up in this chapter the discussion of the history of the ancient kingdom of Uḍra (Orissa), Koṅgoda and Kaliṅga which conjointly passed by the name of Trikaliṅga in old days. The limited period of North-Eastern Indian history treated in this work, precludes us from entering into the details of the earlier history of this region, e.g. of the time when the Maurya emperor Aśoka extended his empire by a war-like campaign against Kaliṅga, or when king Khāravela and after him other kings ruled in these kingdoms, or of the period later than that of the Śailodbhava dynasty of kings. The sources of the history of this kingdom during the period are mainly the inscriptional literature of the Śailodbhava dynasty and the account of Yuan Chwang. We may have to refer occasionally to other minor sources.

The old Kaliṅga country included within itself the south-western portion of modern Bengal (i.e. parts of the districts of Midnapur and Howrah), the whole of modern Orissa and some northern portion of the Madras Presidency, and it may, therefore, be described as a part[1] of North-Eastern

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[1] For varying limits of ancient Kaliṅga, see *J. N. Banerjea Volume*, pp. 324-25, fn. 27.

India, lying on the western border of the Bay of Bengal. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji[2], writing about the topography of ancient Kaliṅga, thought that roughly speaking the country lay in two parts viz. the tract lying between the Dāmodara and Mahānadī rivers in the north and that between the latter and the Godāvarī in the south. As regards, however, the political divisions of old Kaliṅga the distinguished writer was of the opinion that the country from Midnapur to the Brāhmaṇi-Vaitaraṇī was Utkala, and the central tract "consisting of the modern districts of Cuttack, Puri and the northern part of the Ganjam district, along with some of the small states on both banks of the Mahānadī, such as Ranpur, Nayagodh, Khandpara Daspalla, Tigiria and Athgadh, was called Tosala". He says, moreover, that "most probably the country between the Chilka lake and Mahendragiri (in the Mandasa Zamindari) was called Koṅgoda, because one of the epigraphic charters makes it clear that Koṅgoda was situated in Southern Tosala". Thus between Koṅgoda and the Godāvarī delta lay the beautiful country of Kaliṅga of Yuan Chwang.

The references to the kingdom of Kaliṅga in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, the Pali *Jātakas* and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* testify to its existence in the early period of Indian history. It is one of the States in the eastern part of Northern India that are mentioned[3] as having continued to exist after the Kurukshetra War,—the other States being Ayodhyā, Kāśī, the Maithilas (of Videha), Bārhadrathas (of Magadha "which probably included Aṅga"). Both Pāṇini and Kauṭilya also mention the name Kaliṅga and words derived from it e.g. Kāliṅgika, referring, of course to this country. The best class of elephants, according to Kauṭilya,[4] is produced in Kaliṅga and Aṅga. This fact is borne out by the account of Yuan Chwang[5] who writes that "the country (Kaliṅga) produced dark wild elephants prized by the neighbouring countries"; and the northern country of Koṅgoda situated to the north of Kaliṅga also "produced large dark-coloured elephants which were capable of long journeys". There was a time in Indian history when for making a journey to Kaliṅga, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and some other countries, men were enjoined by Smṛiti authors to perform expiatory rites to purify themselves.

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[2] R. D. Banerji—*History of Orissa*, Vol. I. p. 3.

With the present stock of our knowledge of epigraphic and other historical records, it is not possible to write a connected history of the period between the fall of Khāravela's family and the rise of the Śailodbhava dynasty.[6] From the occurrence of the Kushan type of coins in many places between the Singbhum and Ganjam districts, the late Mr. R. D. Banerji[7] thought that along with Magadha, the Kushan foreigners conquered Orissa also. He wrote—"it is quite possible that when Northern and Southern Bihar were annexed to the empire of the great Kushans, Orissa and the Eastern sea-board as far as the Rushikulyā and the Lāṅguliyā were also conquered".[8]

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[3] Pargiter—*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 293.

[4] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, Ch. 2.

[5] Watters—*Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 197-98.

[6] Recently an attempt has been made, though on very

Some light on the history of Uḍra-Koṅgoda-Kaliṅga during the Gupta period of Indian annals is thrown by the historical material found in the description of the famous campaign of conquests in Southern India (Dakshiṇāpatha) by the imperial Gupta monarch Samudragupta. In his Allahabad Pillar inscription,[9] this king is described as having liberated after capture some kings of southern India, twelve of whom have been mentioned along with the names of their kingdoms. After the name of the first king, Mahendra of Kosala (identified with the Mahākosala i.e. portions of Jubbalpur, Raipur and Bilaspur of the Central Provinces), is mentioned Vyāghrarāja (or Vyāghradeva) of Mahākāntāra

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slender grounds, to postulate a period of Andhra supremacy in Orissa, see K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhuvaneswar*, pp. 207 ff.

[7] *Op. cit*, Vol. I, p. 113.

[8] *Op. cit*, pp. 114-15.

[9] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 1, Text 1, 19, p. 7.

(one of the southern forest countries constituting the old tributary Orissa States). The next kings in the list are Maṇṭarāja of Korāla or Kurāla territory (probably the country round the modern lake Koleru), Mahendra of Pishṭapura, the ancient capital of Kaliṅga (now Piṭhāpuram in the Godāvarī district), and Svāmidatta of Girikoṭṭūra (identified with Kathoor about 12 miles S.S.E. from Mahendragiri in the Ganjam district). These three kings appear to have been rulers of their respective States situated within the boundaries of old Kaliṅga. Two other kings of the south, seized and afterwards released by the Gupta conqueror, who belonged to territories lying within the province of Kaliṅga proper according to some scholars were the chiefs named Damana of Eraṇḍapalla (mentioned as Eraṇḍapalli in the Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman of Kaliṅga), and Kuvera of Devarāshṭra (a province in Kaliṅga). Some other scholars including the late Dr. Vincent Smith formerly regarded these two territories as western parts of the Deccan, viz. the Khandesh and the Maharaṭṭa country. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji[10] was of the opinion that very likely the three Kaliṅga kings Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra, Damana of Eraṇḍapalla and Kuvera of Devarāshṭra "formed a confederacy with the powerful Pallava kings of the South" mentioned in the Allahabad inscription, namely Vishṇugopa of Kāñchī (Conjeeveram), Hastivarman of Veṇgī (in the Godāvarī-Kistnā Doab) and Ugrasena of Pālakka (in the Nellore District), against the Northern Indian emperor Samudragupta, during the latter's expedition of conquests.

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[10] *Op. cit.*, pp. 116-17.

It cannot, however, be ascertained what happened to the Kaliṅga kings after Samudragupta had returned home from the South. No doubt, Harisheṇa informs us that he liberated the monarchs concerned. On the other hand one epigraph, speaking of Lokavigraha, is dated in the year 200 of the Gupta Era,[11] i.e. A.D. 519-20. Another record, Sumandala inscription, refers to the rule of Pṛithivīvigraha over Kaliṅga in the dominion of the Guptas, in the year 250,[12] i.e. A.D. 569-570. It appears that either Harisheṇa's information in question is not fully correct, or a part or the whole of the Kaliṅga was reconquered by the Guptas after the southern campaign of Samudragupta. Whatever may have been the fact, the Sumandala record indicates the suzerainty of the Guptas over the whole or a part of Kaliṅga at a time when their claim over other parts of India was lost.[13] The same epigraph states that Mahārāja Dharmarāja, a subordinate to a descendant of Mahārāja Ubhaya, was a subordinate chief of Pṛithivī-vigraha and had his head-quarters at Padmakholi.[14]

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[11] *Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vols. II and III, pp. 261 ff ; K. C. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

[12] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 75.

[13] Loka-vigraha and Pṛithivī-vigraha were probably members of a feudatory family swearing allegiance to the Imperial Guptas, see R. C. Majumdar (editor), *Classical Age*, pp. 92-93.

The Gupta rule in Kaliṅga seems to have been supplanted by the Mānas.

A Soro plate (No. A) records a grant of eight *timpiras* of land by *Paramabhāgavata Vappapādānudhyāta Mahārāja* Sambhuyaśas of the Mudgala family, in a village called Ghaṇṭakarṇakshetra adjoining Sarepha in Utarra-Tosalī. The grant, which is dated in the year 260, was issued from the royal camp at the Tamparavḍama, and was made in favour of a Brahmin named Bharaṇasvāmin belonging to the *Bharadvāja gotra* and the *Kaṇvaśākhā* (of the *Yajurveda*)[15].

The Patiakella graṇt of Mahārāja Śivarāja, dated *saṃvat* 283, was discovered in the district of Cuttack in Orissa. It records the grant of a village named Taṇḍralvalu or Tuṇḍivaluja situated in the *vishaya* of Dakshiṇa Tosalī, made on the principle of perpetual endowment (*akshayanīvī*) to thirty-nine Brāhmaṇas (some of whose names end in *svāmin* and others in *deva*) belonging to various *gotras* and *charaṇas*, by the feudatory chief, Mahārāja Śivarāja. The charter was issued from his residence at Varttanoka in Southern Tosalī during the reign on earth of his suzerain not named, whose titles are described as *Paramadevatādhidaivata*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Paramamaheśvara*, born in the spotless family of Mudgala. There is also the mention of a phrase *pravarttamāna-Māna-vaṁsa-rājya-kāle* referring to the date 283.[16] It is, however, not clear whether we should connect the suzerain of Śivarāja with the Mānavaṁśa.

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[14] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 77.

[15] *E. I.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 200.

The dates of these inscriptions are to be referred to the Gupta Era,[17] and so should correspond to (260 + 319-20) = A.D. 579-80 and (283 + 319-20) = A.D. 602-03 respectively. They indicate the authority of Sambhuyaśas over Northern and Southern Tosalī, comprising probably the whole of Orissa from Balasore to the Puri district. As pointed out above, it is not clear whether Sambhuśyasas himself was a member of the Māna royal family. The fact that the Soro plate records a grant by Sambhuśyasas from a royal camp may perhaps hint at such a connection. However, even if Sambhuyaśas himself was not a scion of the Māna family, he must at least for some time in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. ruled a part of Orissa on behalf of the dynasty in question.

Another Soro plate (No. D), dated in the year 5, refers to a grant in Sareph-āhāra-vishaya and alludes to the rule of Mahāpratihāra Mahārājā Bhānudatta.[18]

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[16] *E. I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 285 ff.

[17] *J.R.A.S.B.L.*, Vol. XI, pp. 4 ff.

We may here profitably refer to two other plates of the same locality. One (plate No. B) speaks of a grant in *Sareph-āhāra-vishaya* made in the year 15 in Uttara-Tosolī by *Paramadevatādhidaivata, Śri Paramabhaṭṭāraka - pādānudhyāta, Mahābalādhikṛita, Antaraṅga and Mahāsāndhi-Vigrahika* Somadatta,[19] and the other (plate No. C) states about a donation of a place in Varukaṇā-vishaya in Sarepha-āhāra made in the year 15 by *Mahābalādhikṛita, Antaraṅga* and *Mahāsāndhi-Vigrahika* Somadatta.[20]

The titles attributed to Bhānudatta and Somadatta clearly indicate that they were viceroys. If this Somadatta is identified with Somadatta who according to Midnapore copper plate of Śaśāṅka, ruled Daṇḍabhukti together with Utkala under the suzerainty of the latter monarch, the Soro plates of Somadatta may indicate Śaśāṅka's hegemony over at least the region of Uttara-Tosalī. It seems that Śaśaṅka was responsible for extinguishing the rule of the Māna dynasty at least in the latter areas.

The extension of Śaśāṅka's rule in the Ganjam region (ancient Koṅgoda) is indicated by the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja of the year 300

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[18] *E. I.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 203.

[19] *E. I.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 202.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 202-03.

Gupta Era i.e. A.D. 619-20. Mādhavarāja, belonging to the Śailodbhava dynasty, acknowledged the supremacy of Śaśāṅka[21]. Śailodbhavas themselves probably rose on the ruins of the Gupta empire. In fact other families like the Pitṛibhaktas of Siṁhapura, Sunagara and Bardhamanapura (modern Vadama in Vizagapatam district), the Māṭharas of Pishṭapura (modern Pithapuram in the Vizagapatam district), the Vaśisṭhas and the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhaliṅgam in the Ganjam district), began to rule even before the final dissolution of the Gupta rule, and continued to reign independently long after the Imperial Guptas had passed out of India's political arena[22].

The Śailodbhavas themselves, however, probably did not continue to swear allegiance for a long time after A.D. 619-20. It is well-known that Harsha conquered the Koṅgoda region[23]. This he probably did after the death of Śaśaṅka[24]. If this is so, the

[21] *E. I.*, Vol. VI. pp. 143 ff.

[22] For a reliable account of history of these families see *Classical Age*, pp. 212-217. We may here record that Dakshiṇakosala probably comprised modern Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur region and so might have included a part of the area of modern Orissa. For history of Dakshiṇakosala in the early Christian centuries as well as in the Gupta Era and also for the annals of the Sarabhapuriyas and the and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśis of South Kosala, see *Classical Age*, pp. 217-22.

[23] S. Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsang*, pp. 159-72.

[24] *Classical Age*, pp. 106-08.

Śailodbhavas must have, at least for sometime, also served under him.

However, Śaśāṅka and also Harsha were no more than passing figures in the history of the Śailodbhavas who continued to rule independently even long after the death of these two kings. The genealogy and chronology of the Śailodbhavas can be constructed on the basis of the evidence of several inscriptions. In the Khurda plates we find a genealogy of three generations of kings in relation of father and son, viz. Mādhavarāja, his father Ayaśobhīta and his grand-father Sainyabhīta. The place from where the charter was issued was the royal residence of Koṅgoda. Mādhavarāja, the donor, is described herein as "born in the Śailodbhava family" and "the master of all Kaliṅgas." The village, to which the granted land of Kumbhāracheḍa belonged, is named Āharaṇa situated in the *vishaya* of Thorana[25]. Attention may pointedly be drawn in this connection to the genealogy of three generations of kings mentioned in Ganjam plates, dated 300 G.E.[26] (A.D. = 619-20), which belongs to the reign of *Mahārāja-mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja, who was, as already noted above, at that time the feudatory chief ruling in the country of Koṅgoda under the suzerainty of Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka, undoubtedly the great Gauḍādhipa, the powerful adversary of King Harshavardhana and the treacherous murderer of that emperor's elder brother, King Rājyavardhana. This *Mahārāja* Mādhavarāja calls himself the son of *Mahārāja* Ayaśobhīta and grand-son of *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja. It is difficult to suggest as to whose suzerainty was acknowledged by the donor's grand-father Mādhavarāja, ruling as a feudatory sometime towards the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. Nor is it easy to say if he had any political relation with the rulers of Samataṭa. In all likelihood he had some connection with the Later Gupta emperors of Magadha. Whatever the truth may have been, we find that Mādhavarāja, the donor, the grand-son of the first Mādhavarāja, ruled in Orissa as feudatory under the suzerainty of Śaśāṅka, King of Bengal (Karṇasuvarṇa), who assumed the lofty title of *Gauḍādhipa*, undoubtedly by his gradual occupation of North Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana), and also of parts of Magadha and countries still further west.

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[25] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXXIII (1904), p. 282.

[26] *E. I.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143ff.

The family, whose greatness Mādhavarāja enhanced by his repulsion of the army of its enemies by the strength of his sword, is called in this epigraph the *Śilodbhava-kula*. This feudatory ruler allowed his wealth to be enjoyed by the distressed, the helpless, the miserable and the mendicant people. He possessed all kingly virtues and was "endowed with learning, prowess and steadiness which adorned the whole circle of the world.". He was devoted to the feet of the Lord (Śiva) and calls himself a *Parama-brahmaṇya* (most well-versed in the Vedic lore). This charter was issued from Koṅgoda (probably from its head-quarters) described as situated near the bank of the river Śālimā, which may be identified with the rivulet Salia in Bānpur. It records the grant of the village Chhavalakkhaya situated in the *vishaya* of Kṛishṇagiri, made according to the principle of permanent endowment (*akshaya-nīvī*), to a Brāhmaṇa named Chharampasvāmin of the Bharadvāja *gotra* with the *pravaras* of Āṅgirasa and Bārhaspatya, for the increase of merits of the chief's (Mādhavarāja's) parents and himself on the occasion of a solar eclipse. It may be held, especially on the strength of the identity of the script used in both the Khurda and the Ganjam plate inscriptions, that the three generations of kings described in both are identical, though in the former inscription the donor Mādhavarāja's grand-father is named Sainyabhīta, while in the latter he is named Mādhavarāja, which, in all probability indicates that Mādhavarāja (the grand-father) had a *biruda*, Sainyabhīta. It is clear, we repeat here, that these three Śailodbhava kings bore to each other the relation of father and son in order. This point is very important for a discussion of the chronology of this dynasty.

We have, however, a larger genealogy of the

Śailodbhava kings from the Buguda plates[27] discovered in the Gumsur Taluka of the Ganjam district. It is not dated. The late Dr. Keilhorn, who calls the characters used therein the Ganjam variety of the Northern alphabet, confesses[28] that it is impossible "to determine with confidence the exact time of these plates from the characters", but his "impression is that they cannot be earlier than about the 10th century A.D., and that probably they are much later". With due deference to the great palæographist, we feel inclined to disagree with him, and think that the characters belong to a period about two centuries earlier, i.e. the eighth century A.D. Nor can we on any account accept the opinion of R. D. Banerji,[29] that the donor kings of the Khurda and the Ganjam inscriptions, as well as of the Buguda plates, are identical and that[30] the characters of the Parikuda plates, are "very closely allied to those of the Khurda and the Ganjam plates". Dr. Sten Konow thought, rightly enough in our opinion, that palæography is hardly in favour of the early date (A.D. 694) as proposed by Mr. Banerji for the Parikuda plates of Madhyamarāja, on the strength of the uncertain date 88, which he referred to the Harsha era, but which seemed to

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[27] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 41 ff; Vol. VII, pp. 100 ff.

[28] *E. I.*, Vol. VII, p. 102.

[29] *Op. cit.*, pp. 130-31.

[30] *E. I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 281 ff.

Messrs. Venkayya and Krishna Sastri a sign for the regnal year 26. Apart from palæographic consideration, the fact that there was the distinct relationship of father and son amongst the three generations of kings mentioned in the Khurda and the Ganjam plates viz. Mādhavarāja I (=Sainyabhīta I of Ganjam plates), Ayaśobhīta and Mādhavarāja II, stands in the way of late Mr. Banerji's identifying the three kings of the Buguda and the Parikuda plates, viz. Sainyabhīta, Ayaśobhīta and Sainyabhīta (*alias* Mādhavavarman= Śrīnivāsa), as in both these grants, as also in some of the other grants of the Śailodbhava kings, the two latter kings are described as being "born in the first king's (Sainyabhīta I's) family", that is to say, that the first two kings Sainyabhīta and Ayaśobhīta are not related to one another as father and son.

The historical material that is obtainable from a study of the Buguda plates may be summed up thus. This inscription records the rent-free grant of a village named Puipīno (more probably, Pūīpino), situated in the Khadirapaṭṭaka of the Guḍḍa *vishaya*, made by King Mādhavavarman (mentioned also as Mādhavendra in verse 2, probably to meet the exigency of metre), to the Bhaṭṭa Vāmana, son of Ādityadeva and grandson of Vāmana, who was a student of the Taittirīya *charaṇa*, of the Hārita *gotra* and with the three-fold *pravaras* Āṅgirasa, Āmbarisha and Yauvanāśva, for the purpose of augmenting the religious merits of his parents and himself on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The charter was issued by the king from his residence at Kaiṅgoda (Koṅgoda of other plates). The donor king appears, from the invocation to the god Śambhu, to be a devotee of Śiva, like the preceding Śailodbhava rulers. Amongst the other glories of the donor king described in this inscription, he is specially given the epithet *Kalimalakshālana* i.e. one who can purge (the world) of the impurities of the Kali age. This evidently refers to the restoration of the *varṇāśramadharma*, which fell into disuse, not only in this part of Northern India, but also in other parts, on account of the Hūṇa invasion and the influence of the Mahāyāna Buddhism of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. In the genealogical portion (vv. 3-12) of the inscription we read that there was a famous personage "amongst the people of Kaliṅga" (*Kaliṅga-janatāsu*), whose name was Pulindasena. This man, although endowed with many personal virtues, e.g. a lofty stature, strong arms and broad chest, did not covet sovereignty for himself (*neshṭaṁ bhuvo maṇḍalaṁ*), but he rather worshipped Brahman so that the god might be pleased to create a fit ruler for Kaliṅga. The god granted his wish and created, apparently out of pieces of rock (*silā-śakala*), the lord Śailodbhava who thus became the founder of a distinguished dynasty (*parikalpita-sad-vaṁśaḥ*). In the family of Śailodbhava (*Śailodbhavasya kulajaḥ*) was Araṇabhīta who caused tears in the eyes of the wives of his adversaries (of course, by killing them in battle). His son was King Sainyabhīta I, who obtained victory by scaring away innumerable lines of elephants (of his enemies), and thus caused delight to the earth i.e. to Orissa. In his family again (*tasy-āpi-vaṁśe*) King Ayaśobhīta was born. He it was who succeeded in removing the impurities of the Kali age by his orthodox actions. Of him was born his son, Sainyabhīta,—the handsome, powerful and pious king, whose sword was "fit to split the forehead of the large elephants (of his enemies)" and whose foes faded away before him with their majestic glory abridged" (*saṁkshipta-maṇḍala-rucaḥ*) by means of his own stronger glory. This king, who bore two other names viz. Mādhavavarman and Śrīnivāsa, is also described as heightening the glory of the gods in heaven by the restoration of the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices, the names of which other impious kings of the Kali age wanted to abolish from the earth, by allowing themselves to perform many a sinful act. The king's favourite State-officer, Gaṅgabhadra (the *Pratihārin*) was the *dūtaka* in this grant.

While dealing with the chronology of the Śailodbhava kings, both the late Mr. R. D. Banerji and Mr. Vinayaka Misra[31] omitted to take notice of another copper-plate inscription[32] of King Mādhavavarman deciphered and published by the present writer in the (now defunct) Bengali monthly of Calcutta, the *Sāhitya*. It is a single plate, undoubtedly the second one of a series of at least three such plates which contained the whole text of the charter. The other two plates are unfortunately missing. It commences after two letters from the third quarter of the seventh verse in the Buguda plates, and ends with the prose portion which concludes the sentence signifying the gift. A hole in the plate indicates that this and the other missing plates were held together by means of a ring. It is, however, difficult to say whether any seal was soldered onto it. This plate was made over at Puri by Mahamahopadhyaya Sadasiva Mishra to my distinguished friend the late Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, when the latter with some other members of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, went out on their tour of research in the various places of antiquarian interest in Orissa, in the autumn of 1912 A.D. The Mahamahopadhyaya got it from the late Mr. Padma Charan Mahanti, formerly superintendent of the Puri Collectorate, an inhabitant of the village of Birobai in the Puri district. The provenance of the plate is not known.

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[31] *I. H. Q.*, 1931, pp. 665 ff.

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[32] *Sāhitya*, 1319 B. S., pp. 889 ff with plates. The two missing plates were later discovered by the late Dr. N. P. Chakravarti and their estampages were given to this writer who edited all the three plates in *E. I.*, Vol. XXIII (No. 19).

It may, however, be called the Puri plate of Mādhavavarman, because we of the above-named Society got it at Puri. The genealogical verses of this inscription (so far obtained) are exactly the same as those in the Buguda plates of the same king. It purports to be a charter addressed from his residence (*niketa*) at Koṅgeda (Koṅgoda) by King Mādhavavarman of the Śailodbhava dynasty to his officials, the Brāhmaṇas, the Karṇas and others, regarding a rent-free grant of some land, made for the purpose of increasing the religious merits of his parents and himself, to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Vittadeva of Kauśika *gotra*, a student of the Chhandoga *charaṇa*, belonging to the Kauthuma *śākhā* with Utathya and other *pravaras*, who immigrated from a village called Śāla (or Māla ?)—grāma situated within the *vishaya* of Thoraṇa. The name of the same *vishaya*, as we have seen above, occurs also in the Khurda plate inscription. The following genealogical table of Śailodbhava rulers may be drawn from the contents of the Buguda and the Puri plate inscriptions :—

Śailodbhava
:
Araṇabhīta (*tatkulajaḥ*)
|
Sainyabhīta
:
Ayaśobhīta (*tasya vaṁśe jātaḥ*)
|
Sainyabhīta (= Mādhavavarman = Śrīnivāsa)

The Parikuda plates of Madhyamarāja[33] and the Kondenda[34] and the Puri (Uttarapārśva Maṭha)[35] plates of Dharmarāja carry the above genealogy down to two more generations of kings, namely to Madhyamarāja (alias Ayaśobhīta ?), son of Sainyabhīta, the last king in the above table, and then to Madhyamarāja's son Dharmarāja. The only additional knowledge of history that we have from the Parikuda plates is that King Madhyamarāja was a capable and powerful member of the Śailodbhava dynasty, that his kingdom contained many hermits and that he himself was an ardent devotee of Śiva (*parama-māheśvara*). This king made a grant of a village in the *vishaya* of Kaṭakabhukti situated in the Koṅgoda-maṇḍala to twelve Brāhmaṇas. He is always described as having enhanced his own fame by the performance of the Vājapeya and the Aśvamedha sacrifices. We have referred above to our inability to accept the late Mr. Banerji's reading of the numerical figures in this grant and his view of the date of the grant.

The genealogical verses of the Puri plates of Dharmarāja are exactly similar to those of the Parikuda plates of his father Madhyamarāja, upto the description of the latter king. King Dharmarāja, the donor, issues this charter from

[33] *E. I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 281-287.

[34] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 265 ff.

[35] *Sāhitya*, 1319 B.S., pp. 889 ff.

Mātṛichandrapāṭaka, and it records the grant by this king of a field in the village of Doṅgi, in the *vishaya* of Varttani in the Koṅgoda-maṇḍala, made to a Brāhmaṇa named Golasvāmin, alias Māsika, of the Kaṇva *śākhā* and of the Vājasaneya *charaṇa*, belonging to the *gotra* of Jātukarṇa, and having the *pravaras*, Vaśishṭha, Ātreya and Jātukarṇa. Mahāsāmanta Goshāladeva was the *dūtaka* in this grant and the writer of it was the Mahābhogin, Sāmanta Paṭapāla. It is a dated inscription, the date of which was read by Mr. Rājaguru as *saṁvat* 512 *Vaiśākha sudi*. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji[36], however, contested the reading and thought, perhaps rightly, that it must be read either as saṁvat 812 (=A.D.756) or simply 12 indicating only the regnal year of this ruler.

The second copper-plate charter[37] of Dharmarāja, alias Mānabhīta, which was issued from the royal residence at Somapura, records the rent-free grant of half the village Koṇḍeṇḍā in Khiḍiṅgāhāra *vishaya*, made to an *agnihotṛin* Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Goṇadeva-svāmin, belonging to the Kauśika *gotra* and the Vājasaneya *charaṇa*. It is an inscription dated 800 saṁvat (=A.D.743-44). The genealogical portion is common to both this grant and the Puri plates of Dharmarāja. There is a description of a most important historical information common to both these grants, viz. the battle of Phāsika, which provides us with a definite clue to the solution of the chronology of the Śailodbhava kings. The incident is thus described in both (cf. v. 16). After Dharmarāja had ascended the throne by right of primogeniture, a person named Mādhava, probably Dharmarāja's younger brother, raised an insurrection, but in the attempt to wrest the throne from Dharmarāja he was defeated in battle at a place called Phāsika. Mādhava was then banished from the kingdom, but he made one Tivaradeva his ally, and with the latter's aid again fought against Dharmarāja with the result that the allies sustained a defeat at the hands of the king of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala. Since then Mādhava is reported to have passed his days at the foot of the Vindhyas.

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[36] *Op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

[37] *E. I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 265-70.

Regarding the identification of this Tivaradeva, ally of Mādhava, there can hardly be any doubt that he must have been the king of the same name belonging to the Somavaṁśī dynasty of Śrīpur or Sirpur in Southern Kosala. Tivaradeva was the same as Mahāśivagupta Tivaradeva, who was the elder brother of Chandragupta and uncle of Harshagupta of that family of rulers. He was succeeded in the kingship by his younger brother Chandragupta, who was an opponent of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govinda III[38], and was defeated by the latter. From the known dates of Govinda III it may be concluded with some degree of certainty, that Dharmarāja of Orissa flourished during the second and third quarters of the eighth century A.D., and had probably a long reign.

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[38] *E. I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 240 and 245 (Sanjan plates of

Lastly we come across the names of two or three more generations of Śailodbhava kings, in a single plate of a grant made by king Madhyamarāja. These names are Dharmarāja's son, Madhyamarāja and the latter's son Raṇakshobha. The name of the younger brother of this Raṇakshobha was prince Peṭavyālloparāja (Paṭṭvyalopa), who had a son named Madhyamarāja (also called Taillapa). But according to Mr. Vinayaka Misra, Taillapa was not identical with Madhyamrāja, but was the latter's father.

The genealogical evidence supplied by the dated and undated epigraphic records of the Śailodbhava dynasty discussed above thus appears in connection with three different groups of rulers, who are put together and arranged below according to our idea of their chronological sequence. The first group of three kings, comprising Sainyabhīta I (=Mādhavarāja I), his son Ayaśobhīta (I) and his son Mādhavarāja II (=Sainyabhīta II ?), is obtained from the Khurda and Ganjam plate inscriptions. The second group of four kings, viz. Araṇabhīta,

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Amoghavarsha, son of Govinda III) and *ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 253.

his son Sainyabhīta I and a descendant in the latter's family named Ayaśobhīta II and his son Sainyabhīta III (=Mādhavavarman=Śrinivāsa), is found mentioned in the Buguda and Puri plate inscriptions of Mādhavavarman, The third group again of two more kings, viz. Madhyamarāja (=Ayaśobhīta III ?) and his son Dharmarāja (=Mānabhīta), can be had from a study of the Parikuda, the Puri (Uttarapārśva-Maṭha) and the Kondenda plates. In our opinion the whole genealogical table should be drawn up in the following chronological order :—

Pulindasena
Śailodbhava
1. Araṇabhita
2. Sainyabhīta I (=Mādhavarāja I)
3. Ayaśobhīta I
4. Sainyabhīta II (=Mādhavarāja II, 619-20 A.D.)
5. Ayaśobhīta II
6. Sainyabhīta III (=Mādhavavarman=Śrīnivāsa)
7. Ayaśobhīta III (=Madhyamarāja I)
8. Mānabhīta (Dharmarāja, A.D. 743-44 and A.D. 756)
9. Madhyamarāja (II ?)

It appears that the Śailodbhava kings of Orissa had their names ending in *bhīta* and their *birudas* ending in *rāja*. Nos. 2-4 in the above table belong to the first group, Nos. 1-2 and Nos. 5-6 to the second, and Nos. 1-2, Nos. 5-6 and Nos. 7-8 to the third. So the kings of the Śailodbhava dynasty headed by Araṇabhīta ruled in Orissa for more than two centuries, beginning roughly from the sixth and ending about the middle of the eighth century A.D., or probably a little later.

CHAPTER IX

THE KINGDOM OF EASTERN BENGAL (VAṄGA-SAMATAṬA)

Of the different parts of modern Bengal, the one which consists of what should have properly been called South Bengal, but which was not thought of as a separate geographical division, formed part of the old province named Vaṅga, and the one which is now called Eastern Bengal formed part of the old province named Samataṭa. But in later days, probably during the 7th century A.D., when the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited India (A.D. 629-48), the name Samataṭa represented both these countries, i.e., Vaṅga as well as the territory which was generally known as Samataṭa. The name Vaṅga, however, is a very old one. In Vedic and Buddhist literature, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* and also some of the works of Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, we come across the names of the eastern country, called Vaṅga and of its rulers.

The first historical reference to the people of Vaṅga is found in the Meharauli Iron Pillar inscription[1] of King Chandra, whom we have elsewhere tried to identify with Chandragupta I of the imperial Gupta dynasty, and not with Chandravarman of Pushkaraṇa, contemporary of Samudragupta. Since the conquest of those people by King Chandra, Vaṅga must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas.

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[1] *C.I.I.*, Vol. III., No. 32 and *I.A.*, 1919 pp. 98-101,

But Samataṭa (as a separate kingdom, a *pratyanta* country in the east), like the other eastern kingdoms, viz. Ḍavāka. Kāmarūpa, Nepāla etc. paid tribute to the conquering Gupta monarch Samudragupta,[2] to whom they were all bound to pay allegiance. The kings of East Bengal continued to remain in this relation with the imperial house, till the end of its rule in the first part of the 6th century A.D., in consequence of the raid of the Hūṇas and the unexpected rise of the ambitious Yaśodharman of Malwa. The discovery of gold coins of Chandragupta II and Skandagupta, and also silver coins with the peacock symbol in or near Kotalipada in the Faridpur district is an evidence in point, for supporting the theory that the Eastern Bengal kingdom remained under the paramount power of the early Guptas. During probably the last portion of the reign of Budhagupta or the first of that of his successor, we have now epigraphic evidence of the existence of another king named Vainyagupta (once wrongly read as Vaiṇyagupta). The Nalanda seal[3] of this monarch reveals that he was a monarch of the Imperial Gupta family. The seal further informs us that he assumed the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* and this fact proves his independent status. The other record[4] of the monarch, found at Gunaighar in the district of Comilla, now in East Pakistan, bears the date 188 G.E. and it thus shows that he was ruling in the Vaṅga-Samtaṭa region i.e. East Bengal in A.D. 507-08 (A.D. 506 according to my late lamented friend and pupil Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya who edited the inscription in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VI, pp. 45-60). This copper-plate, to which is soldered on the left side an almost oval-shaped seal with the emblem of a figure of a bull recumbent to the proper right, with the legend *Mahārāja-Śrī-Vainyaguptaḥ*, contains an inscription incised in letters of the Eastern variety of the Northern Gupta script, which have clear affinity to the script of the Faridpur plates ; and it may be regarded as the earliest copper-plate record hitherto known to have been discovered in East Bengal. Professor Bhattacharyya has proved beyond doubt by means of palæographic, linguistic and other kinds of evidence that Vainyagupta's plate was found in some locality (in the district of Tippera) in or near which was situated the headquarters of the kingdom of this king. We shall observe later that another plate of the 7th century A.D. was discovered in the Tippera district, the contents of which also led us to believe that the Eastern Bengal kingdom had its headquarters in or near about Dacca-Tippera districts. It may be pointed out in this connection, that the seals of some of the later copper-plate grants[5], belonging to the time of the other provincial kings viz. Śaśāṅka of Karṇasuvarṇa and the Maukhari ruler Śarvvavarman, as well as the seal (inscription No. 7) of the Nepal King Aṁśuvarman (contemporary of Harshavardhana) dated 39 H.E. (=A.D. 645), contain the same kind of bull-emblem indicating that almost all the kings of North Eastern Indian provinces were devotees of Mahādeva.

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[2] *Ibid.*, No. I,

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[3] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIX, p. 275 ; *M.A.S.I.*, No. 66, p. 67.

[4] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VI, pp. 45-60 ; *S.I.*, p. 531.

From the use of the mere title of *Mahārāja* by this Eastern Bengal king of the early sixth century, a title which during the Gupta period was used only by the *Sāmantas* and sometimes also by some of the States-officers, it may be surmised that Vainyagupta at first was a local Governor under an imperial Gupta monarch. But subsequently he became an independent ruler as his title *Mahārājādhirāja* in his Nalanda seal will show. If the evidence furnished by the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* that after the death of Budha two kings in the Gupta line were crowned, one in Magadha and another in Gauḍa, is relied upon, we may assume that

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[5] *E.I.*, Vol. XV, pp. 301-15.

Budhagupta's death was followed by a partition of the Gupta empire and Vainyagupta established himself as an independent ruler in the eastern flank (Gauḍa portion) of the Gupta empire.

Thus Vainyagupta, who had his victorious *skandhāvāra* (either touring camp or capital), situated in a place called Kripura in Eastern Bengal, was reigning about four years before the earliest known date (191. G.E.) of King Bhānugupta i.e. A.D. 510-11., and about a quarter of a century before the rise of Yaśodharman whose dominions are said to have included the valley of the Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra river.

Vainyagupta was indeed a ruler of considerable political importance as he had a number of high State-officers under him. This inscription mentions that on the request of *Mahārāja* Rudradatta, who is described as the king's *pādadāsa* i.e. his own dependent officer of the State (and not a vassal, as wrongly supposed by Prof. Bhattacharyya), the king sanctioned the grant, as an *agrahārā* gift of 11 *pāṭakas* of *khila* (fallow) land in five plots, as also some *talabhūmi* (home-stead lands) for meeting all kinds of expenses of such objects connected with worship, as perfumes, flower, lamps, incense etc. for the Buddha in the monastery (*vihāra*) of Avalokiteśvara which was being erected by that State-officer in honour of the great teacher (*āchāryya*) Śāntideva, the founder of the Vaivarttika congregation of monks belonging to the Mahāyāna school, and for the provision of food and raiment, beds, seats, and medicines etc. to the members of that congregation and also for the cost of future repair-work in the portion which will be broken and torn in that monastery. The *dūtaka* in this grant was the great (probably, the highest) State-officer, *Mahārāja-mahāsāmanta* Vijayasena, who had the right of exercising the functions of four high officials, viz, the *Mahāpratīhāra* (the chief officer of the Palace Police), the *Mahāpilupati* (the Superintendent of the royal stable for elephants), the *Pañchādhikaraṇoparika* (the head or presiding officer of the five royal courts or departments) and the *Pāṭyuparika* (cf. *pāṭīpati* in the *Harshacharita*, Chapter VII—*purapāloparika* i.e., the head of the city governors and *pāṭis*) Probably Vijayasena was in charge of the portfolios of all these departments and was thus the chief officer of State during the reign of Vainyagupta. Three other officers bearing the title *Kumārāmātya*, whose position was surely inferior to Vijayasena's own, are also named in this epigraph viz. Revajyasvāmin, Bhāmaha and Vatsabhogika ; and they were informed of the royal order of the grant, by Vijayasena. One cannot be quite sure whether they were the *vishayapatis* of some districts (*vishaya*) under this king. *Karaṇakāyastha* Naradatta, who was the *Sāndhivigrahā* [*dhikā*] *rin*, the Minister of Peace and War, was the writer of this document. That Eastern

Bengal has always been a country of water-courses, channels, river-beds, rivulets and alluvial *char* lands can be corroborated by reference to such an inscription of the sixth century A.D., wherein reference is made to such Bengali (non-Sanskritic words as) *khāḍi* (channel), *jolā* (a water-course, cf. *Yetā maṇḍala* in Śrī-Chandra's Dhulia copper plate), *nauyoga* (probably a haven for boats), *hojjika* (water-logged place) and *vilāla* (a large sheet of watery hollow).

The most interesting information of historical importance is that Vainyagupta, describing himself as *Bhagavan=Mahādeva-pādānudhyāta* i.e. contemplating the feet of Lord Mahādeva, thinks that the religious merit of his parents and himself will be enhanced, if he makes such a grant of land to a Buddhist *vihāra*. Professor Bhattacharyya has rightly pointed out that the name of the Vaivarttika *saṅgha* of the Mahāyāna school is known in this record for the first time, and it was established by the Mahāyānist Buddhāchāryya Śāntideva. It is indeed, interesting, as Professor Bhattacharyya says, that even a Brahmanic king allowed Mahāyāna Buddhism, to flourish under his broad patronage, even so early as one century before the time of Yuan Chwang (A.D. 629-45). Eastern Bengal seems to have been a great stronghold of that school of Buddhism.

If Vainyagupta's identification with Tathāgatagupta (*supra*, p. 94) is accepted, Vainyagupta may be said to have extended patronage to the monastery of Nalanda. Vainyagupta's seal found at Nalanda is also indicative of his association with the monastery.

On the obverse of a few gold coins cabinet of the British Museum,[6] the late D. C. Ganguly[7] detected in vertical legend the name of *Vainya* and so he attributed them to Vainyagupta of the Gunaighar and Nalanda records. His attribution has been later on supported by a coin[8] belonging to the collection of Mr. Narendra Singh Singhi of Calcutta on the obverse of which Prof. S. K. Saraswati also found *Vainya,* i.e. the Vainyagupta. Prof. Saraswati's reading has been recently confirmed by Dr. B. N. Mukherjee. Thus numismatic evidence also establishes the independent position of Vainyagupta and tends to assign him to the imperial Gupta family.

From the contents of the Paharpur copper-plate[9] of Budhagupta's time (159 G.E.=A.D., 478-79.) it can be pointed out that 8 *droṇavāpas* of land make one *kulyavāpa* and therefore the old lexicographers are quite right in stating such a formula. From the

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[6] *C.C.B.M.G.D.*, pp. liii-liv.

[7] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. IX, p. 45.

[8] Vide *J. N. Banerjea Volume*, pp. 336-38.

[9] *E. I.*, Vol, XX, pp. 59 ff,

Gunaighar inscription it is now clear that one *pāṭaka* of land consists of 40 *droṇas*. Hence the relation between a *kulyavāpa* and a *pāṭaka* is in the ratio of 1 to 5. This is important for an understanding of land-measurement as referred to in old epigraphic documents discovered in East Bengal.

That the old kings of East Bengal used to establish Buddhist monasteries is evident from the mention of *Rājavihāras* in connection with the boundaries of the granted land. Another *vihāra* under the supervision of a teacher of the Buddhist monks, named Jitasena, is mentioned in Vainyagupta's charter.

We are quite in the dark about the successor of any other feudatory ruler in East Bengal (Samataṭa), acknowledging the suzerainty of any of the last imperial Guptas, or of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. But the six inscriptions,[10] five copper-plate grants found in the

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[10] These are: (a) Grant of Gopachandra, year 3, (b) Second Grant of the same king, year 18; (c) Grant of Dharmāditya, year 3, (d) Second Grant of the same king; (e) Grant of Samāchāradeva, year 7 and (f) Second Grant of the same king, year 14. A seal of Samāchāradeva has been found at Nalanda, see *M. A. S. I.*, No. 66, p. 31.

For inscription *a* see *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 155 and *E.I.*, XXX, pp. 161-63 and for *b*, *c* and *d* see *I.A.*, XXXIX (1910). For *f* see *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. VI, p. 429, *J.A.S.B.* N.S., Vol. VII, p. 476 and *E.I.*, XVIII, pp. 74ff. A discussion on *b* was made by me in *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee*

Faridpur district, East Bengal, and another at Mallasarul in the Burdwan district, West Bengal, as well as the discovery of a few of their coins[11] disclosed the fact that three independent kings bearing the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, named Gopachandra, Dharmāditya and Samāchāradeva, ruled in Eastern Bengal, and were probably related to one another and formed a dynasty that took the place of the Guptas in Eastern India, as was thought by the late N. K. Bhattasali.[12] It is difficult to agree with Bhattasali's view that they were *sovereigns* reigning in the whole of Eastern India, but it seems quite probable that they were rulers in Samataṭa only, with full and independent power exercising jurisdiction over its different parts through the agency of governors, e.g. in the Vārakamaṇḍala, and also having feudatory chiefs under their suzerainty. Some may suggest that these three

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Commemoration Volume, Vol. III, pp. 485ff. The inscription marked as *e* has not been published as yet and its whereabouts are also unknown.

[11] For coins of Samāchāradeva see *E.I.*, XVIII, pp. 79-80, *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol., XIX, Num. Suppl., pp. 54ff, and *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XXI, pp. 20 ff, and *C.C.I.M.*, Vol. 1, p. 120, and *C.C.B.M.G.D.*, p. 149. From coins names of some other kings like Pṛithuvīra and Sudhanyāditya have come to light. For their coins see *C.C.I.M.*, p. 122 and *C.C.B.M.G.D.*, p. 154. Also *H.B.R.*, pp. 53-54. For the unique coin of Pṛithuvīrarāja see *N.C.*, Fifth series, Vol. XIV, p. 235.

[12] *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, p.84.

imperial kings assumed independence in Eastern India, after the break-up of the imperial Gupta dominion towards the middle of the 6th century A.D., and ruled the different parts of Bengal, including even Puṇḍravardhana and Karṇasuvarṇa by a system of administration through the agency of governors, and district officers working under them, as scholars have known from the Damodarpur copper plates of the Gupta period edited by the present writer. To us, however, it appears that these three kings ruled from the place, wherefrom Vainyagupta also had done, a few years before them. This locality was somewhere either in eastern Dacca or northern Tippera district, which formed the central part of the kingdom of these monarchs; and the Vārakamaṇḍala (which roughly comprises the modern Faridpur and Jessore districts) formed an additional part of their kingdom, ruled through their administrative agents, namely Governors and *Vishayapatis*. It may also be thought that after the downfall of the imperial Gupta dynasty, Central Bengal (i. e. the portion known a little later by the name of Karṇasuvarṇa) and North Bengal (the old *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana) were annexed to the kingdom of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, and remained in that relation, till Harshavardhana's subjugation of major portion of Bengal, and the establishment of his supremacy in the eastern region, before the first quarter of the seventh century

A.D. These three Eastern Bengal rulers may, therefore, be taken as reigning, very probably in succession, during the last three quarters of the 6th century A.D., when the three or four Later Gupta rulers just before Mādhavagupta, Harshavardhana's ally, ruled from Magadha. No great stress should be laid on the view[13] of Dr. Hoernle that Dharmāditya is to be identified with Yaśodharman and Gopachandra with Prince Govi (pi ?) cited by Tāranātha in his 'Tibetan History of Buddhism in India', who, in the opinion of the learned writer, was, according to a tradition, "a grandson of Bālāditya and was son of the last Gupta Emperor Kumāragupta II (now, Kumāragupta III, in our opinion) whom Yaśodharman displaced". But this is certain that we cannot establish any connection, if there had been any, between these Eastern Bengal kings and the imperial Gupta dynasty. Nor have we been quite convinced by Bhattasali's arguments,[14] based on the identical use of the bull-standard on the coin of both Samāchāradeva and Śaśāṅka, King of Karṇasuvarṇa, that it is "almost certain that Samāchāradeva was a predecessor of Śaśāṅka in the kingdom of Gauḍa and of the same lineage, perhaps his father". All that seems probable to us is that Samāchāradeva and Śaśāṅka may have been contemporary rulers for sometime, in two different parts of Bengal, viz. Samataṭa and Karṇasuvarṇa respectively.

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[13] *Vide I.A.*, 1910, p. 208.

[14] *E. I.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 81.

We will now collect materials for the history of Eastern Bengal, so far as that can be done from a study of the six copper-plate grants mentioned above. Two of them, *a* and *b*, belong to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhaṭṭāraka Gopachandra who was in power for at least 18 years (the reading the 19th year in the Faridpur plate of Gopachandra by Pargiter is wrong). It is interesting to find the same Nāgadeva, who had the titles of *Mahāpratihāra*, *Kumārāmātya* and *Uparika* in Gopachandra's Faridpur Charter (*b*), as having been mentioned in Dharmāditya's undated Faridpur plate marked as *d*. Nāgadeva in Gopachandra's record figures as the Governor of Navyāvakāśikā. Another officer, Nayasena, described as the Chief Secretary (*jyeshṭha-kāyastha*) in Gopachandra's Government also appears in Dharmāditya's record. The name of the *Vishaya-pati* of Vārkamaṇḍala at the time of Gopachandra's grant was Vatsapālasvāmin, probably a Brāhmaṇa. The name Nayasena as the chief Kāyastha both in Gopachandra's and Dharmāditya's plates (*b* and *d*) reminds us of the chief State officer with several high titles named *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta* Vijayasena (in the service of King Vainyagupta in A.D. 507-08 in both Faridpur and Mallasarul records Vijayasena is described as *Mahārāja*). Both have the same surname *Sena* and probably the family they came from supplied hereditary chief State officers to the imperial monarchs in East Bengal. This remark is intended only to connect Vainyagupta and Gopachandra as rulers of the same kingdom of Eastern and Western Bengal. The *Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa*[15] mentions a king of the *prāchya-janapadas*, named Gopa (*Gopākhyanṛipati*). Probably that king is to be identified with Gopachandra.

The next king[16] who ruled in Samataṭa was *Mahārājādhirāja* Dharmāditya, to whom belong the documents (*c* and *d*). The first of these (i.e. *c*) was issued in the third regnal year of the monarch. The other is not dated.

It has been fully shown by the author elsewhere, how these Faridpur charters were documents of the same type and form as the Damodarpur, the Dhanaidaha and the Paharpur inscriptions (including the Baigram plate of the reign of Kumāragupta I), i.e. they were not ordinary royal grants of land, but were land-sale documents, the procedure of purchase, appearing to be almost the same in almost all of them. In both these inscriptions (*c* and *d*) we find that the *vishaya* (district) of Vārakamaṇḍala was administered by *vishayapatis*, named Jajāva in the first charter, and Gopālasvāmin in the second. These two officers, like the other *vishayapatis* in the North Bengal inscriptions of the previous and the same centuries, were appointed to their offices by still higher authorities, governors or viceroys, who were themselves favoured by the emperors, and who wielded administrative authority over an area larger than the *vishayas*. In the second record it is mentioned that Nāgadeva, who had the right of use of the two titles, *mahāpratihāra* and *uparika*, was in charge of the larger teritorial division (probably of the same class as a *bhukti*) named Navyāvakāśikā, which, however was taken by Mr. Pargiter and Mr. Bhattasali as "the provincial capital" or "the Divisional head quarters." The local administrative court was called *vishayādhikaraṇa*, wherein the chief secretary was recognised by the title of *prathamakāyastha*. Mr. N. K. Bhattasali's conjecture that the ruins of Sabhar in the district of Dacca may be identified with Navyāvakāśika may not find favour with scholars. But the Vārakamaṇḍala-*vishaya* must have been the district round about Kotalipada in the present district of Faridpur, and it may have comprised alluvial lands[17] and islands or *chars* of the Ganges delta. The name of a

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[15] Chapter 53, p. 637.

[16] Pargiter thought that Dharmāditya was the first king and "Gopachandra succeeded him, with no one intervening unless it was for a very short interval" (*I.A.*, 1910, pp. 206 ff). To our mind, Gopachandra was succeeded by Dharmāditya, and not vice versa.

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[17] *Vide* the most important and interesting remark on

sādhanika (probably a military officer) in the service of the *vishaya* of Vārakamaṇḍala is named Vātabhoga in plate A. The name of the Governor in Plate *c* is Sthāṇudatta who enjoyed the right of use of the title *mahārāja*. He was not, however, a king as supposed by Pargiter, and although the name of the territory which he administered is not mentioned (probably through oversight), it seems that its name must have been Navyāvakāśikā. The opinion that this division was not in existence in the third year of Dharmāditya's reign is not very convincing. What territorial division, in that case, was *mahārāja* Sthāṇudatta in charge of? The Chief Secretary under Gopālasvāmin in the latter part of Dharmāditya's reign is mentioned as Nayasena.

The next king was *Mahārājādhirāja* Samāchāradeva. In his 14th regnal year one record (Plate *f*) was issued from the *vishayādhikaraṇa* of Vārakamaṇḍala, which was administered by *vishayapati* Pavittraka. *Antaraṅga* (member of the inner council) *Uparika* Jīvadatta was in charge of the province of Navyāvakāśikā, which he obtained for administration through favour of the imperial monarch Samāchāradeva. It appears that Suvarṇavīthi was the name of the head-quarters of the large territorial division of Navyāvakāśīkā.[18]

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the topography of the localities by Pargiter (in *I.A.*, 1910, pp. 209-10).

[18] H. C. Raychaudhuri takes the term *vīthi* to mean an

The chief official (secretary, *adhikaraṇika*) of the district administration of Vārakamaṇḍala was a person named Dāmuka. We know of only two gold coins,[19] one of the *Rājalīlā* type discovered in Jessore district and the second of the common *Archer* type of Gupta coins (provenance unknown), belonging to the reign of Samāchāradeva, the reverse legend being recognised as *Narendravinata*. The bull-standard of these coins indicates that King Samāchāradeva was a devotee of Śiva. We know as yet nothing regarding any successor of Samāchāradeva in the East Bengal kingdom.

It is difficult to establish any connecting link between the kings of the Faridpur plates and those of the Khaḍga dynasty, mentioned in the Ashrafpur[20] grants and the Deulbari bronze image inscription.[21] The latter were local kings of Samataṭa acknowledging in all probability, the lord-paramountcy of the last few imperial rulers of the Later Guptá dynasty

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administrative area and is thus inclined to include Navyāvakāśikā in Suvarṇavīthi. According to him, Suvarṇavīthi may have reference to the entire area in the southeastern part of the Dacca district which includes besides Suvarṇagrāma, such places as Sonarkandi and Sonarang, see *H.B.R.*, p. 26 and fn 3.

[19] Explained fully by N. K. Bhattasali in *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 79-80.

[20] *M.A.S.B.*, Vol. I, pp. 85-91.

[21] *E. I.*, Vol XVII, pp. 357 ff.

of Magadha. There remains little doubt that Samataṭa also yielded to the arms of Harshavardhana, and acknowledged his authority with the rest of Bengal. Hence probably we have no knowledge of any imperial successor to the throne of Samāchāradeva in East Bengal. In our opinion the Khaḍga dynasty of four rulers reigned during the last three quarters of the seventh century A. D., and must not have lived long beyond the first quarter of the eighth century; and they ruled in East Bengal contemporaneously with the last three or four rulers of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, ruling from about A.D. 650 to 730.

Between Harsha's death, which broke up his vast empire in Northern India and the beginning of the rule in East Bengal of the Khaḍga dynasty, however, we shall have to place the history of another line of feudatory chiefs with the surname *nātha*, who must have been subject to the lord-paramountcy, either of the East Bengal rulers of the Faridpur grants or that of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. It is the copper-plate grant[22] of Lokanātha, a feudatory chief (a *sāmanta* with the *kumārāmātya* title) which has disclosed the name of a hitherto unknown dynasty ruling in some part of East Bengal, owing allegiance to some imperial ruler. This plate was discovered somewhere in the district of Tippera, more than a quarter of a century ago, and deciphered and edited by the present writer for the first time. The seal attached to this plate bears on the obverse a figure of the goddess Lakshmī or Śrī in relief, standing on a lotus with two elephants on her two sides sprinkling her with water from two jars lifted by their trunks, the reverse bearing a full-blown lotus. This plate has affinity with the three Faridpur plates (*b*, *c* and *d*), in this way that the latter also had seals containing the same emblem. Like the Gunaighar inscription of Vainyagupta of the early sixth century, this plate was discovered in the Tippera district. Loknātha's seal had two legends on it, one in relief viz, *kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya*, written in characters of the early Gupta age, and the second, viz, *Lokanāthasya* in characters similar to those used in the writing of the whole of this inscription (in Sanskrit prose and verse of 57 lines) belonging to the Northern class of alphabets of the 7th century A.D. The inscription seems to have been dated in the year 44 which, as we ventured to suggest on palaeographic ground, may have belonged to the Harsha era, corresponding, therefore, to A.D. 650 i.e. three or four years after the death of Harshavardhana. D. R. Bhandarkar[23] pointed out, from the use of the letter '*dhika*' before the letters signifying 44, that the date of this plate "was at least 144 and not 44" as supplied by the present writer and he, therefore, thought it to be equivalent to A.D. 750 of course by referring it to the Harsha era. But it could as well be argued that the date is 344 *saṁvat*, and the reference should in that case be to the Gupta era, as in Vainyagupta's Tippera plate, and therefore it is equivalent to A.D. 663-64. We are not in favour of regarding the inscription as belonging to the middle of the eighth century A.D. ; and probably palaeography accords with our view, that the plate should be referred to the middle of the seventh century A.D. The name of the place from which the charter was issued is unfortunately broken away and lost. The learned editor of the *Epigraphia Indica* remarked in a foot-note (p.303 of the writer's article) that "from the opening words it would seem rather as if the documents were issued from the office of the Kumārāmātya of Lokanātha's overlord and only countersigned by Lokanātha himself." But we maintain that during the Gupta age, the title *Kumārāmātya* used by officers of State was found to have been applied also to feudatory (*sāmanta*) chiefs just as the word *Sāmanta* generally used by feudatory chiefs was also sometimes used with other titles by officers of State. So the word *Kumārāmātya* in the opening prose portions of this inscription refers to the feudatory chief Lokanātha himself.

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[22] *Vide* the writer's edition of it in *E.I.*, Vol. XV, No. 19, pp. 301-315.

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[23] *I. A.*, Vol. LXI, 1932, p. 44.

In this inscription we have a short history of four or five generations of *Sāmantas* of the Nātha family. They were Śaiva in religion. On account of corrosion and decay, the first king's name ending in *nātha* is lost in the copper-plate but he is described as having sprung from the good family of the sage Bharadvāja and he was a renowned king, having right to the use of the paramount title of *adhimahārāja* (or *mahārājādhirāja*). It cannot be definitely stated when this king in this locality of East Bengal made an effort to assume independent imperial authority. He may have adopted a defiant attitude towards any of the sovereigns named in the Faridpur plates. However, as it is not safe to hazard a conjecture in this way, we should only cull what information we can from this grant, about the next three or four generations of kings, whose position was not as high as the first ruler of the line. The second feudatory of this dynasty whose name was Śrīnātha is stated to have acquired much fame as a hero on the field of battle. This king "repelled all misfortunes of the State through the delegates in possession of his own supremacy and displayed all attainable feats on earth." The name of his accomplished and virtuous son was Bhavanātha who, being of a religious bent of mind, and having "the one thought as to how to cross the waters of the ocean of existence," forsook royalty in favour of his brother's accomplished son, whose name, however, is not found mentioned. The next king (*nṛipa*), the donor of the grant is named Lokanātha. The text admits of some doubt whether he was begotten by Bhavanātha or his brother's son. From the fact of Bhavanātha's placing his brother's son in charge of the administration and passing his days like a *ṛishi*, we took him to have had no issue and constructed the text so as to make Lokanātha a son of Bhavanātha's brother's son and not of Bhavanātha himself. Lokanātha, described as a *karaṇa* by caste, was born of his mother named Gotradevī who was the daughter of Keśava mentioned as a *pāraśava* by caste and in charge of the army of the king (probably Lokanātha's father). The great-grand-father and grand-father of his mother are called *dvijavara* and *dvijasattama* respectively. But Keśava, the father of Lokanātha's mother, is described as a *pāraśava*. The prevalence of the *anuloma* form of marriage in Hindu society of the seventh century is also evident from the fact that Bāṇabhaṭṭa's orthodox father, Chitrabhānu of the orthodox Brāhmaṇa caste, married a Śūdra wife and had two sons, *pāraśava* by caste. We find here that the feudal king, Lokanātha, a *pāraśava's* grandson on the mother's side, was a *karaṇa*. It is, however, plain that the social status of a *pāraśava* in the seventh century was not at all low, otherwise Keśava could not exercise the function of an army officer and be esteemed by the good, nor, could his daughter be married to a feudatory chief's father. Regarding his achievements, it is described that Lokanātha was a very able king, "whose soldiers depended for victory chiefly on their own swords and on the intellect of his ministers". He was also in possession of a fine cavalry. There is also a reference (in v. 7) in this inscription to the fact, that a large number of soldiers belonging to the paramount sovereign (*parameśvara*) met with annihilation in a battle (?) fought on his behalf. Another battle, in which one Jayatuṅgavarsha seems to have been a party, is also referred to here (in v. 8). It is not clear what part Lokanātha took in it. Another significant fact is mentioned in a verse (v. 9), that a king named Jīvadhāraṇa took military action against Lokanātha, but he gave up hostilities on the advice of his ministers, because Lokanātha had obtained a royal charter (*śrīpaṭṭa*) from the imperial king, and he gave away to Lokanātha his own territories (*vishaya*) along with his army (*sādhana*). The court-poet says that king Jīvadhāraṇa decided upon this course by reflecting thus on the accomplishments of Lokanātha : "in the obstinate battle with Jayatuṅgavarsha he (Lokanātha) showed his readiness ; he is expert in the matter of prescribing the right course to seekers (of instruction) in policy ; his subjects are always pleased and he is happy in making alliance ; this man of many qualities, dear to the learned, a resort to good people, and prone to (doing) universal good, of sharp intellect, has achieved majesty and prosperity."

The battles referred to above raise several issues to be settled. Who was the lord-paramount, *parameśvara* ? What do we know about Jayatuṅgavarsha and King Jīvadhāraṇa ? The recently discovered Kailan copper-plate grant[24] of king Śrīdhāraṇa-Rāta has been of great value to historians as serving an evidence that the feudatory king Jīvadhāraṇa is to be identified with the king of that time (Jīvadhāraṇa-Rāta) who calls himself *Samataṭeśvara* (the ruler of Samataṭa). The palaeography, the ornate Sanskrit language and the mode of address in the Rāta document and those in the Tippera plate of Lokanātha are almost similar. That both these plates are almost contemporary records admits of no doubt. Hence the Jīvadhāraṇa (of v. 9) in Lokanātha's plate must have to be identified with the *Samataṭeśvara* Jīvadhāraṇa-Rāta, father of Śrīdhāraṇa-Rāta who was the grantor of the Kailan plate. We have stated above that this Tippera inscription must be referred to the middle of the seventh century A.D. and therefore Lokanātha was probably a feudatory chief only a few years after Harshavardhana's death. This may have been just after the usurper Arjuna or Aruṇāśva's defeat by the Chinese envoy with the help of the Tibetan, Nepal, and Kāmarūpa armies, and when Ādityasena of the Late Gupta dynasty of Magadha asserted independence by assumption of the paramount title *māhārājādhirāja*. It must be supposed, from Lokanātha's description as a king with the titles *nṛipa* and *kumārāmātya*, that he was a feudatory chief in East Bengal under Ādityasena of Magadha. If it be ever found that there was no continuation of the rule in East Bengal of the imperial monarchs represented in the Faridpur plates during Harsha's reign or after his death, it is not unlikely that Lokanātha owed his allegiance to Ādityasena, and the *parameśvara* (paramount severeign) who is described in the inscription (v. 7) as having lost a large number of soldiers in a battle, was Lokanātha's own liege-lord, who must have despatched an army to help his feudatory when the latter had to fight against another *nṛipa*, named Jīvadhāraṇa. This last king later made over to Lokanātha his own province and army, giving up hostilities. So it seems that Jīvadhāraṇa seized and occupied Lokanātha's land. Like Lokanātha himself, this Jīvadhāraṇa was also probably a local chief in some part of Eastern India, enjoying a somewhat independent position and he was forced to relinquish war against the other *sāmanta*, perhaps because the latter obtained the royal charter from his suzerain. We should guard against identifying *nṛipa* Jīvadhāraṇa with the *parameśvara* of the inscription and should not think that it was this Jīvadhāraṇa's army that met with destruction in conflict with Lokanātha. As regards the identity of Jayatuṅgavarsha, we know that the Rāshṭrakuṭa kings of the mediaeval ages used various *birudas*, e.g. *avaloka*, *tuṅga*, *varsha*, and *vallabha*. Fleet was of the opinion that, as a result of inter-marriage, other families also adopted these *birudas*. Dr. R. C. Majumdar[25] regards Jayatuṅgavarsha as a title rather than a proper name but such a view does not seem to be an acceptable one. At present it is very difficult to identify this Jayatuṅgauarsha, a contemporary of Lokanātha, and we shall have to await future discoveries for the final settlement of the questions.

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[24] First discovered by Dr. D. C. Sircar who published part of its text first in the Bengali journal, the *Bhāratavarsha* (Vaiśākha 1353 B. S., April 1946), and then contributed his English article on the same containing the full text and the plates in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, 1947, pp. 221-241. We are thankful to Dr. Sircar for the discovery of the hitherto unknown Rāta dynasty of Samataṭa.

Mahāsāmanta Pradoshaśarman, an orthodox Brāhmaṇa by caste, seems to have been a high officer of state under Lokanātha—a man of noble descent, whose resources were enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas, the virtuous people and the community, and who was known for his prowess and the strength of his arms. This officer approached the king, through his son *Rājaputra* Lakshmīnātha as *dūtaka*, with a prayer for a plot of land in the forest region (*aṭavī-bhūkhaṇḍa*) in the *vishaya* of the name of Suvvuṅga, whereupon he wanted to erect a temple of Ananta-nārāyaṇa and settle more than a hundred Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vedas, and whereby he desired to meet the recurring expenses of all materials for the daily worship of the deity.

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[25] *H. B. R.*, p. 88.

The document explicitly mentions the amount of land in *pāṭaka* and *droṇa*, as in all East Bengal inscriptions referred to before, alloted individually and in some cases jointly to the grantees. We also find the name of Lokanātha's Minister of Peace and War (*Sāndhivigrahika*) was Praśāntadeva, who executed the document, probably on the king's behalf.

This plate refers to an age of anarchy (*mātsyanyāya*) in Bengal, i.e. the time after the death of Harsha, when the whole country plunged into political disorder and confusion, and before the rise of the Pāla kingdom in the 8th century A.D. The Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, found no prominent sign of Buddhism in Kāmarūpa. This East Bengal plate of Lokanātha also does not contain even a latent allusion to Buddhism in this part of the country. The king's ancestors were devotees of Śaṅkara and his Brāhmaṇa officer Pradoshaśarman set up an image of Anantanārāyaṇa. The prevalence of Brahmanic religion in Eastern Bengal at the time may, therefore, be rightly inferred also from the mention in the inscription of the sacred fires, the Pauranic deities and Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedic lore. According to Yuan Chwang who travelled south to Samataṭa from Kāmarūpa, the former country was on the sea-side and was low and moist. The East Bengal climate of to-day is exactly the same as in the Chinese pilgrim's time. He, however, found more than 30 Buddhist monasteries, and also about 2000 Buddhist brethren, all adherents of the Sthavira school. But he found 100 Deva temples and numerous Digambara Nirgranthas. While he was at Samataṭa, he gathered information of six other countries not visited by him, but all lying near and beyond the hills on the sea-side in the east, viz. the Burmese lands, Pegu, Siam, Cambodia and perhaps Java also. No name of any king of Samataṭa is mentioned as reigning during his time.

As the Kailan copper-plate discloses the names of rulers at least during three generations in Samataṭa, belonging to a hitherto unknown Rāta dynasty, we should give here a summary of the contents of this important document. The copper-plate belonged to a Muslim cultivator of Kailan, a village under Police station Chandina in the Sadar subdivision of the Tippera district in East Bengal (now in Eastern Pakistan). The village lies South-West of Comilla and 13 miles West of the Lalmai Railway Station. This copper-plate grant of the feudatory king Śrīdhāraṇa-Rāta who calls himself Samataṭeśvara (the ruler of Samataṭa) was issued from a place named Devaparāvata. His father's name was Jīvadhāraṇa-rāta-bhaṭṭāraka who was also styled Samataṭeśvara and his mother's name was Bandhudevī. The first verse invoking the god Hari indicates that the family of the Rātas was Vaishṇava in religious faith. In line 13 of the document Srīdhāraṇa calls himself *Parama-Vaishṇava*. This *Prāpta-pāñcha-mahāśabda* ruler of Samataṭa, Śrīdhāraṇa-rāta-deva, was approached by his *Mahāsāndhi-Vigrahādhīkṛita* (the Chief Minister of Peace and War). Jayanātha, through the crown-prince *Yuvarāja-prāptapāñchamahāśabda* Baladhāraṇa-rāta-bhaṭṭāraka, praying for the grant of 25 *pāṭakas* of land situated in two *vishayas* named Guptīnāṭana and Paṭalāyikā which he desired for some sacred purposes. He wanted to be favoured by the king with the grant of the land to him, so that he might himself make a division of the granted *pāṭakas* of land between two different kinds of religiously worshipful objects. The first purpose was to provide for the garlands, incense, light and unguents for the great merciful and all knowing lord *Tathāgata* (Buddha). His second purpose was to meet the expenses for the study and recitation of the *Dharma*, of which the way was taught by the lord, and his third purpose was again to provide the various requisites such as robes and food-lumps and other materials for the noble Saṅgha. The applicant minister Jayanātha's fourth purpose was to make a distribution of certain portions of the granted land to Sengal (name and number of them mentioned along with the shares alloted to them) Brāhmaṇas, versed in lores, for performing the five *mahāyajñas*. The king Śrīdhāraṇa granted the prayer of Jayanātha to whom 25 *pāṭakas* of demarcated land were given. The rulers of the Rāta dynasty of Samataṭa cherished the spirit of religous toleration which prevailed among most of the rulers of different states during all periods of Indian history. This copper-plate serves as an example of that kind of toleration as we find Srīdhāraṇa granting land simultaneously for the purpose of worshipping the Buddhist *triratna* and also for the maintenance of sacrifices by learned Brāhmaṇas. Jayanātha wanted to perform this religious act for the enhancement of the merit of his own parents and his sons and grandsons and also for (all beings of) the world. King Śrīdhāraṇa issued this charter on the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the 8th year of the administration of Samataṭa and other places which he possessed on account of the blessing of his father's (Jīvadhāraṇa's) feet.

It may be noted here that the overlord (*parameśvara*) of verse 7 of the Lokanātha's plate (whoever he might have been) had at first two refractory feudatories Lokanātha and Jīvadhāraṇa-rāta, the ruler of Samataṭa (of the Kailan plate). Lokanātha, however, had again to deal militarily against another king (?) Jayatuṅgavarsha who may or may not have been a third refractory feudatory trying not to submit to the same overlord (*parameśvara*). But we are not in a position yet to know the identity of this Jayantuṅgavarsha against whom Lokanātha might have engaged himself in a very hard fight launched immediately (v. 8 of Lokanātha's plate). This military action of Lokanātha and also the various other qualities of head and heart he possessed as disclosed in the same verse made Jīvadhāraṇarāta to pacify Lokanātha and return to the latter his territory (*vishaya*) previously usurped by the former by giving up battle against Lokanātha (v. 9 of Lokanātha's plate) after he had succeeded in earning the favour of his overlord and obtaining the *śrīpaṭṭa* (royal charter). It is quite possible that Jīvadhāraṇa-rāta on many a former occasion rose against the overlord whose army met with heavy discomfiture, but later on he attained much favour with the overlord. Then, of course, Jīvadhāraṇa, finding Lokanātha very strong in men and money dislodged the usurped territory of of Lokanātha, his rival feudatory king. This Jīvadhāraṇa-rata, father of Śrīdhārana-rāta, was undoubtedly a contemporary of Lokanātha and so it appears that the 8th year of Śrīdhāraṇa-rāta (mentioned in the Kailan plate, lines 26-27) might probably have fallen later than Lokanātha's time. If the above remarks may be accepted as the true picture of the relationship between the Nāthas and Rātas, as also Jayatuṅgvarsha, we cannot agree with the cumbrous suggestion of the construction (*anvaya*)[26] of verses 7-9 of Lokanātha's Tippera plate by Dr. Sircar.

It is to the interval between Harsha's death and the rise of the Buddhist dynasty of the Pālas of Bengal, i.e. the period approximately between A.D. 650 to A.D. 750 that we shall have to assign the rule in East Bengal of the kings of the Khaḍga dynasty. Dr. R. C. Majumdar,[27] relying on the palaeography of the Ashrafpur and Deulbari inscriptions and the Chinese evidence, thinks that the dynasty of the Khaḍga kings may be said to have established their supremacy almost immediately after Harshavardhana's time.

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[26] *Vide* fn. 7 p. 233 of Dr. D. C. Sircar's article in *I. H. Q.* Vol. XXIII, 1947. Dr. Sircar's *anvaya* of the three verses may lead to greater confusion in arriving at any proper and natural interpretation of them. He has overlooked the fact that the 4th foot of verse 7 should not be stretched from its own place and connected with the independently integral verse 8. The word *yasmin* (v. 7) should not be made an adjective to *Jayatuṅga-varsha-samare* of v. 8. It is rather a correlative of the word *saḥ* in its own verse 7. Another point to be observed is that the word *sādhana* used both in the 2nd foot of v. 7 and 3rd foot of v. 9 should be taken in the sense of 'army' (cf. Medini—*sādhanaṁ mṛitasaṁskāre sainye* etc.) It may, however, be confessed that we, with the present stock of our knowledge, cannot properly identify the *Parameśvara* and also Jayatuṅgavarsha of the verses.

All that we know definitely of the history of this dynasty can be learnt from two copper-plate grants[28] discovered along with a bronze *chaitya* about eighty years ago, by a villager during the process of levelling a mound in the neighbourhood of a tank in Ashrafpur about 30 miles N. E. of Dacca and about 5 miles from the Sital-Lakhya river, and from the Śarvvāṇī image[29] of inscription of Queen Prabhāvatī, discovered sometime during the first decade of the present century, in or near a village called Deulbari, situated about 14 miles south of Comilla in the district of Tippera. We fully agree with N. K. Bhattasali in believing that these Khaḍga inscriptions cannot be assigned a date posterior to the beginning of the 8th century A.D. But we disagree with the view of the late Ganga-

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[27] *Early History of Bengal*, published by the Dacca University, 1924, p. 23 and *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIX, 1923, p. 378.

[28] *Proceedings of the A.S.B.*, March 4, 1885, and *M.A.S.B.*, Vol. I, No. 6, pp. 85-91.

[29] *E. I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 24, pp. 357 ff.

Mohan Laskar and late R. D. Banerji,[30] regarding the time when this dynasty may have flourished in Eastern Bengal, as both of them put it later. It is also difficult to endorse Dr. R. C. Majumdar's reading of the year in Plate B as 73 or 79. Attention may be drawn to the fact that the day of the month in the plate, whether it be 25 or 28, is indicated by the system of letter-numerals, the first sign being a symbol for 20, and the second for either 5 or 8. The use of two different systems in two successive lines in the same inscription for indicating number cannot easily be explained, although one may admit that the first symbol in the reading of the year-number is really a puzzling one.

Let us now call what historical information we can about this dynasty from the texts of the inscriptions. The names of the three reigning kings of this Khaḍga dynasty, disclosed by these inscriptions, are Khaḍgodyama, his son Jātakhaḍga and his son Devakhaḍga. We have also learnt the name of the last king's son was Rājarāja or Rājarājabhaṭṭa. Both the copper-plate charters of Devakhaḍga were issued from his camp at Karmāntavāsaka, and both were written by a Buddhist scribe, Pūradāsa by name. The name of the *dūtaka* in the second plate is Yajñavarman,—the *dūtaka's* name in the first plate, dated the (regnal) year 13, being illegible.

[30] Monograph on the 'Pālas of Bengal', *A.S.B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 67.

The date of the second plate is of doubtful reading. The Khaḍga kings were devout Buddhists. The Buddha has been invoked in the opening verse of both the plate. In a verse in the second plate Khaḍgodyama is said to have been successful in making conquests on earth after having shown devotion towards the Sugata (the Buddha), his Dharma and his Saṅgha. It is, however, not clear from this plate whether he was a king even before launching forth on these conquests. There can remain no doubt from the statement in the Śarvvāṇī image inscription that Khaḍgodyama was a *nṛipādhirāja* (overlord of rulers). This indicates that in this dynasty it was he who first made successful attempt to establish his royal supremacy in East Bengal. Dr. Majumdar feels inclined to connect these Khaḍgas, with the Khaḍgis, who existence can be traced, as he says, at least to a date as late as the 14th century A.D. ; and he presumes that "this dynasty of Khaḍgas came to Eastern Bengal in the train of the Tibetans and the Nepalese during the troublesome days that followed the death of Harshavardhana." In the absence of definite evidence regarding this point, we should hold this view of the learned Doctor as tentative, and think that the surname *Khaḍga* may have represented an indigenous Kshatriya family of East Bengal and is not an outlandish name. The second king of the line, Jātakhaḍga, son of Khaḍgodyama, is described as "having annihilated his enemies by means of his prowess, just as wind destroys a straw and an elephant a number of horses." So this king had also to pass through stormy days. The third king of the dynasty was the second king's son and successor named Devakhaḍga, the donor of the two grants mentioned above. He is stated in the image inscription to have been "a maker of donations" (*dānapatiḥ*), "majestic" (*pratāpī*) and possessing a sword which could subdue his foes" (*jitārikhaḍgaḥ*). The two plates from a muniment of the grant of some plots of land measured by the *pāṭaka* and *droṇavāpa* area, made by king Devakhaḍga, whose kingdom seems to have been in the enjoyment of peace. His enemies are found to have been conquered and he had under him a host of feudal rulers who paid him court and hostile kings were also "forced to offer his obeisance at his footstool." The couchant bull (significant of Śaivism) in the seal of plate B indicates a kind of incongruity because the rulers of this dynasty are avowedly Buddhists. The donee in both the plates appears to be the revered Buddhist teacher, Saṅghamitra, and his monastery, to the support of which the proceeds of the land were to be applied. These instructions were issued for all *vishayapatis*, and other administrative agencies and the house-holders of the villages concerned. The first gift was made by king Devakhaḍga for the longevity of his son, Rājarājabhaṭṭa, who is mentioned as simply Rājarāja (perhaps for the sake of poetical exigency) in the second plate, which only ratifies the grant already made by this pious prince for the sake of *ratnatraya* (the Buddhist triad), in order to destroy "the fears of three *bhavas*". The mention of the four monastic institutions (*vihāra-vihārikā-chatushṭaya*) is important as affording a trace of the existence of Buddhism in East Bengal at such an early period. The chief queen Prabhāvatī's name is mentioned in plate A as being in possession of some land which king Devakhaḍga gave away to the Buddhist monasteries. There is reference in the second plate to one king as *Bṛihatparameśvara* (the overlord) and one person named Udīrṇakhaḍga, as being the first disposers of some land to other donees, but which are now made into gifts again by the heir apparent Rājarājabhaṭṭa. The Śarvvāṇī image inscription also mentions these three kings, and announces that Mahādevī Prābhāvatī, the queen-consort of king Devakhaḍga, caused the image of the goddess to be plated with gold out of devotion. The reverence paid to an eight-armed image of Śarvvāṇī, undoubtedly a goddess of the Brahmanic pantheon, by the queen of a devout Buddhist monarch of East Bengal, clearly indicates that the different religious sects bore a spirit of religious toleration towards each other in a very high degree. Such religious toleration was also in evidence during the whole period of administration of the North-Eastern empire of the Pālas of Bengal.

The name Devakhaḍga reminds us of the name of another king of the same name, Devagupta, of the Later Gupta dynasty. We feel tempted to regard them almost as contemporaries, as Devagupta was the son of Ādityasena who ruled in A.D. 672. We have stated in the chapter on the Later Guptas of Magadha that the Eastern Indian king of the name of Devavarman referred to by the Corean traveller, Hwui Lun, who visited India sometime during the latter half of the 7th century A.D., cannot be identified with Devakhaḍga.

I-tsing also records that Seng-chi, another priest, came to India hy the Southern sea-route towards the close of the 7th century A.D. and arrived at Samataṭa. He writes[31]—"The king of that country, named Rājabhaṭa (*paṭu*), a upāsaka, greatly reverenced the three objects of worship, and devoted himself to his religious duties". This description of king Rājabhaṭa cannot but remind one of that[32] of prince Rājarāja, son of Devakhaḍga, also called Rājarājabhaṭṭa in plate A "by whom, the destroyer of the fears of the three *bhavas*, the gift of his own land was given to the triad". Hence there may be no doubt left about the identification of the Buddhist king Rājabhaṭa mentioned in the Chinese record as Devakhaḍga's son. So Devakhaḍga and his son Rājarājabhaṭṭa flourished towards the end of the 7th century A.D. The latter may also have lived sometime in the first quarter of the 8th century A.D. We are not aware of any other ruler of the Khaḍga dynasty after Rājarājabhaṭṭa or Rājabhaṭa. The condition of the country in all parts of Northern and North-eastern kingdoms at the time was quite unsettled, for we read of another ambitious king, Yaśovarman of Kanauj, starting a military expedition for making conquests in India, specially directed against the Magahanāha (king of Magadha), who is also called the *Gauḍa* (i.e. the king of Gauḍa), and this adventure of the conqueror is found recorded, as we said once before, in a Prakrit Epic called *Gaüḍavaho* ("The slaying of the Gauḍa king"), written by a famous poet Vākpatirāja, living under the patronage of Yaśovarman. It has also been said before, that Gauḍa in the latter half of the 7th and the whole of the 8th century A.D. formed part of the kingdom of Magadha under the last few kings of the Later Gupta dynasty. Yaśovarman aspired to establish a lord-paramountcy in Northern India, and probably thought that the Later Gupta king then on the throne was a great enemy who must be subdued if he was to fulfil his dream of establishing an empire of the type of early

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[31] *Life of Hiuen Tsiang* (Beal), 1911 Edition, Introduction, pp. xl-xli.

[32] *Cf.* the line :—*dattaṁ ratnatrayāya tribhava-bhaya-bhidā yena dānaṁ svabhūmeḥ.*

Gupta emperors, or that of Harshavardhana. After having defeated and killed in battle the Gauḍa-Magadha king, Yaśovarman is described[33] as having proceeded towards the Vaṅga kingdom on the sea-side in the south and compelled the Vaṅgas, strengthened by troops of unnumbered elephants, to submit to him. Historians of Bengal suppose that king Jīvitagupta II, the last known king of the Later Gupta dynasty, was perhaps the Gauḍādhīpa who was killed by Yaśovarman. We cannot, however, be sure that it was not Vishṇugupta, father of Jīvitagupta II. It may also be conjectured that Yaśovarman's enemy in Vaṅga (Samataṭa) was Rājarājabhaṭṭa of the Khaḍga dynasty. If Tāranātha is to be believed, the Chandra dynasty had been ruling in Vaṅga (and occasionally also over Gauḍa) as early as the middle of the seventh century A.D. and on his statement, Dr. R. C. Majumdar[34] surmises that one of the last kings of the dynasty named Govichandra supplanted the Khaḍgas and re-established the supremacy of his dynasty. Govichandra thus might have been the Vaṅga adversary of Yaśovarman. But it is very difficult to say who was the adversary of Yaśovarman at that time. One thing is certain, however, that there appeared again a period of anarchy in Bengal, as also in other parts of Northern India, when the meteoric career of

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[33] *Gauḍa-vaho*, vv. 418-20.

[34] *H.B.R.*, p. 19.

Yaśovarman (A.D. 731 the date of his Chinese mission) of Kanauj, was ended by Lalitāditya, king of Kashmir.[35]

A stone inscription (*praśasti*) at the old monastery (*vihāra*) at Nālandā in Magadha[36] states that Mālāda, a son of the prime minister (*mantrin*) of Yaśovarmmadeva, made certain gifts to the temple (*prāsāda*) which was built here by King Bālāditya in honour of the Buddha. The fourth monastery at Nālandā described by Yuan Chwang[37] belonged to King Bālāditya and at its formal opening Buddhist brethren were present from all quarters on the king's invitation, amongst whom there were two Chinese pilgrims. In this eulogy Yaśovarman, the patron of the donor, is described as a king of great majesty, who rose to eminence "by stamping his foot on the heads of all kings," and "dispelled the darkness in the shape of all its enemies by means of the canopy of rays of his sword." He was regarded as a *Lokapāla* and could be well compared with the sun-god, "being the cause of the blooming of the lotus viz. the entire earth." Such a description reminds us of the fact that Yaśovarman carried on a campaign of conquest in Eastern Indian countries, and after killing the Magadhan ruler proceeded even against the king of Vaṅga. This account lends support to the brilliant description of the Prakrit epic the *Gaüḍavaho*. It appears that the monastery, erected by a king of Mid-India afterwards, situated to the north of the one built by Bālāditya, belonged probably to Yaśovarman who came up to Magadha and Vaṅga in connection with his conquering enterprise, when probably his minister's son Mālāda, made the donation described above. It is interesting to mention here that there is a reference to a place named Yaśovarmapura in the *praśasti* of Vīradeva.[38]

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[35] Tāranātha also speaks of anarchical condition of Bengal, so to speak, of Eastern India. According to him, after Lalitachandra of the Chandra dynasty, who came after Govichandra, Gauḍa and Vaṅga again plunged into a state of anarchy and confusion.

[36] *E. I.*, Vol. XX, No. 2, pp. 37 ff.

[37] Watters—*Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 164-65.

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[38] *Gaṇḍalekhamālā*, p. 48.

CHAPTER X

THE KINGDOM OF KĀMARŪPA

In the later Purāṇas as well as the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa both the words Prāgjyotisha and Kāmarūpa occur as the name of the old province of Assam. That province included in the past, within its own boundaries in the west, portions of North Bengal, viz. part (if not whole) of the Kuch-Bihar State and of the Rangpur district, with the river Karatoyā as the western boundary. Some portions of China and the Himalayan regions also formed its northern section and a portion of East Bengal was included in it towards the South-West. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, however, mention Prāgjyotisha as a town (*pura*) and not as a country. From his description of Raghu's *digvijaya*, it appears that Kālidāsa intended to apply the name, Kāmarūpa, to the province and the name, Prāgjyotisha, to its capital. The most early and historically important mention of Kāmarūpa is found in the Allahabad pillar inscription[1] of Samudragupta, along with the names of other *pratyanta* States, such as Samataṭa, Ḍavāka, Nepāla and Kartṛipura which lay outside the boundaries of the imperial Gupta empire, but which offered allegiance to that paramount house and paid it some sort of tribute. Varāhamihira[2] also mentions Prāgjyotisha amongst the countries in the east.

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[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 1, ll, 20-21.

In almost all inscriptional records of the Kāmarūpa kings, their origin is traced from Vishṇu's son, Naraka, who was succeeded by his son Bhagadatta, after whom reigned his son (according to some epigraphs, his brother) named Vajradatta. After the last mentioned king there was an interval of about three thousand years, according to a statement[3] in the Nidhanpur copper-plate grants of King Bhāskaravarman, during which ruled many a king of the same race in Kāmarūpa. The calculation of time in that inscription may be taken as roughly correct.

We learn from that inscription that the first prince of the Varman dynasty of Kāmarūpa who became prominent in the political arena of North-Eastern India was Pushyavarman, who, according to the calculation of Mm. Padmanatha Bhattacharyya,[4] flourished about 1600 years before now i.e. in the first half of the fourth century A.D. Bhattacharya's conjecture has been proved to be not far from the truth by the discovery of the Badganga inscription of Bhūtivarman, the eighth

[2] *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, Chap. XIV, v. 6.

[3] Cf. v. 6, *E. I.*, Vol. XII, p. 73.

[4] *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*, p. 28, fn. 6. Incidentally it may be mentioned that a Nalanda seal (*E. I.*, XXII, p. 10) describes Pushyavarman and his two successors as *Māhārājādhirāja*.

member of the dynasty.[5] The inscription bears, a date referable to the Gupta era, which has been read by N. K. Bhattasali as 234 and by D. C. Sircar as 244.[6] Bhattasali's reading seems to be a correct one, and allowing for each king an average of 25 years, we may place Pushyavarman's accession in about A.D. 355. Thus in all probability, he was contemporaneous with Chandragupta I and his son Samudragupta. Pushyavarman's son Samudravarman is compared in that inscription to a fifth *Samudra* (ocean), as it were, but only with this difference that unlike the latter which is always disturbed by larger fish swallowing the smaller ones, King Samudra was free from the *mātsyanyāya* troubles (i.e. those of anarchy and disorder). Like the natural *Samudra*, this Samudravarman was a king "with his riches always displayed to view." He is also described as "smart in single combats." The reference to the *mātsyanyāya* suggests that Samudravarman's ancestor or ancestors had to pass through troublous times, but his own reign was comparatively peaceful. A natural conjecture may be made regarding the name Samudravarman. Probably he was so named by his father in imitation of the name of the great victor, Samudragupta of the imperial Gupta dynasty. The *pratyanta* States of North and North-East India, including Kāmarūpa, which were forced by the Gupta conqueror to enter into a bond of subordinate alliance with him, are stated in the Allahabad inscription[7] to have gratified that monarch by payment of all kinds of tribute (*sarva-kara-dāna*), obedience to his commands (*ājñākaraṇa*) and approach for paying court to him (*praṇāmā-gamana*). It has been shown elsewhere by the present writer[8] that the relation of the famous Raghu with the lord of Prāgjyotisha as described by Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvaṁśa* during his military expeditions is exactly similar to that of the Gupta monarch Samudragupta with the king of Kāmarūpa. For we are told in the *Raghuvaṁśa* that when Raghu crossed the Lauhitya river (the Brahma-putra), the lord of Prāgjyotisha began to tremble in fear but he later pleased the advancing conqueror by paying him homage by presentation of excellent war-elephants with which he used to encounter other conquerors and also "worshipped the shadow of his (Raghu's) feet with the offerings of flowers in the shape of precious gems". Kālidāsa's poetical description was undoubtedly influenced by the actual historical occurrences of his time. The probability of the existence of such a relation between the imperial Gupta sovereign and the Kāmarūpa king can also be inferred from the description in the Nidhanpur plates of the opulence of Samudravarman, who is compared to the ocean "with all its riches displayed to view". There seems to be no doubt that the Kāmarūpa king was rich enough to gratify the Gupta overlord with precious presents and thus save his own kingdom from being incorporated into a growing Gupta empire, so that Kāmarūpa could preserve its own autonomy as a frontier eastern province, attached, however, to that empire by bonds of subordinate alliance.

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[5] *E. I.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 18.

[6] For Bhattasali's view see *J. A. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 138-39, and *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 18 and for Sircar's view see *J.A.R.S.*, Vol. X, pp. 63 ff and *I.H.Q.*, vol. XX, pp. 143-45.

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[7] *Op. Cit.*, ll, 22-23.

[8] *Vide* his paper on "Historical basis and model for Kālidāsa's description of Raghu's conquest"—*Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference*, 1922, pp. 333-34.

The king who succeeded Samudravarman was Balavarman[9] who possessed a very strong army, which always kept the enemies engaged in warfare. Next ruled in Kāmarūpa his son, Kalyāṇavarman a king described as free from all kinds of vices. The name of the next ruler was Gaṇapati[9] who was very virtuous and was known for his large charities. He was born, as the inscription records, to remove war and dissension from the land. After him reigned his son Mahendravarman who was a great supporter of sacrificial performances (*yajñavidhīnāṁ= āspadaṁ*). This is also testified to by a Nalanda seal[10] which refers to the king as having performed two horse sacrifices. We have seen before that revival of sacrificial institutions by kings of other parts of North-Eastern India e.g. the Maukharis and the Later Guptas of Magadha, was a special social feature of those times. Mahendravarman's son and successor was Nārāyaṇavarman who is reputed to have possessed a high knowledge of military and political affairs (*adhigata-saṁkhyārtha*). This king was a competent administrator and was able to maintain order in his kingdom. He may be believed to have been also a supporter of sacrifices, provided we adopt D. C. Sircar's view[11] that the horse sacrifice referred to in the Nalanda seal mentioned above was performed not by Mahendravarman but by his son Nārāyaṇavarman. However, the political sagacity and prowess of Nārāyaṇavarman passed on to his worthy son, named Mahābhūtavarman, so named in the Doobi and Nidhanpur grants. The latter is also referred to under the name of Bhūtivarman in the Badganga epigraph, *Harsha-charita* and in one place (1.51) of the Nidhanpur grant. Under that name he had at first made a grant of the land in Mayūra-śālmal = āgrahāra in the *vishaya* of Chandrapuri situated, according to Mm. P. N. Bhattacharyya,[12] somewhere in North-

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[9] The naming of these two kings reminds us of their similarity with the names of Balavarman and Gaṇapati-nāga in Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription.

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[10] *M.A.S.I.*, 66.

[11] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 143-45.

[12] *Op. Cit.*, p. 5.

East Bengal near Rangpur in the vicinity of the Karatoyā river. The recipients of this grant were a large number of Brāhmaṇas, exceeding two hundred, belonging to different *gotras* whose allotments were separately mentioned in the copper-plate document which was accidentally burnt by fire. In consideration of the fact that the loss of the original document might render the descendants of the original grantees liable to payment of state revenue, King Bhāskaravarman commanded the issue of a fresh copper-plate grant. It was a legalised renewal of the former grant by King Bhūtivarman which was made about a century before Bhāskara's own time. Mm. P. N. Bhattacharyya[13] has very properly drawn the attention of scholars to the second verse of the Nidhanpur plates composed outwardly in honour of the great god Maheśvara, which, however, yields, on account of pun on a few words in it, a second interpretation which shows that *Parameśvara* (king) Bhūtivarman had a circle of feudatory rulers under his subjection (*bhogīśvara-kṛita-parikaraṁ*) and that he was able to captivate the whole of Kāmarūpa by his (benign) glance (*īkshaṇa-jita-Kāmarūpaṁ*). It appears that for the first time after the decline of the power of the imperial Gupta monarchs in Northern India, to whom the rulers of Kāmarūpa had been bound by a tie of subordinate alliance since the time of Samudragupta, Bhūtivarman succeeded in assuming virtual independence in Kāmarūpa, and bringing other rulers under his political authority. This seems to be confirmed, to an extent, by the Badganga rock inscription which refers to Bhūtivarman as performing an Aśvamedha sacrifice. On the basis of this dated record we may place Bhūtivarman (or Mahābhūtavarman) sometime in the middle of the sixth century A. D. According to such a view, the next five generations of kings, after having freed themselves from the Gupta allegiance, appear to have ruled in Kāmarūpa with the same status as the Maukharis of the Ayodhyā region and the Later Guptas of Magadha.

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[13] *Ibid*, p. 27, fn. 8.

After Bhūtivarman his son, Chandramukha-varman), reigned in Kāmarūpa. He possessed a good knowledge of various arts which enabled him to dispel the ignorance of his own people. It seems that he abdicated in favour of his son, named Sthitavarman, who had an *abhisheka* on his accession (Doobi grant 29-33). He enjoyed royal fortune of a high order and his treasury was always full of untold riches. After him his son, King Susthitavarman (alias Śrīmṛigāṅka ; Susthira of Bhāskara's Nalanda clay seal) ascended the throne. The way in which he is described in the inscription forces upon the readers the conclusion that he attained a supreme position of lordship in his kingdom. He used the imperial title *mahārājādhirāja*. He relied solely on his own power for carrying on the administration of his realm. It has been noticed in a preceding chapter that an expedition was led against this Susthitavarman by the Later Gupta king Mahāsenagupta, a contemporary of King Prabhākaravardhana of Thaneswar, towards the close of the sixth century. It is clear that hostilities broke out at about this time between the kingdom of Magadha (including also Gauḍa) and that of Kāmarūpa. In the war that ensued between them, Mahāsenagupta achieved a clear victory over Susthitavarman, and as has been shown before, he advanced towards his eastern enemy's country and defeated him there. A hint, though veiled, to this defeat of the Kāmarūpa king, can be detected in a verse (v. 19) in Bhāskaravarman's Nidhanpur charter, where it is stated that King Susthitavarman "gave away the goddess of royal fortune, like the earth, to supplicants". This perhaps indicates that Susthitavarman, formerly so great a reigning monarch, who had deprived other kings of their high position and ruled over his hard-earned extensive dominion, surrendered his authority to Mahāsenagupta, his victor. The author of *Harshacharita* also describes this Kāmarūpa king (through the mouth of his own messenger to Harsha), as being very proud since his birth and also war-like, steady and majestic, though not harsh. The king's eldest son is named in the Nidhanpur grant as Supratishṭhitavarman, his younger brother being the famous king, Bhāskaravarman. It now appears clear from the Doobi grant (v. 52) that Bhāskara's elder brother ruled as king of Kāmarūpa, though for a short time. Besides the Doobi grant, some significance is also to be attached to the verse of the inscription in which he is, under the figure paronomasia, stated to have made use of his prosperity for the good of 'another person' (*Yasyonnati*[*ḥ*] *parārthā*). We feel constrained to explain the word '*para*' (=a foreigner) by referring it to the Later Gupta king, Mahāsenagupta, whose vassal he probably became. If he ever reigned as a king, he might have conducted the administration of Kāmarūpa on behalf of the king of Magadha, who occupied that kingdom after defeating his father, Susthitavarman. Mm. P. N. Bhattacharyya[14] supposes that Supratisṭhitavarman reigned only for a few years after having augmented his royal fortune, but it was his younger brother, Bhāskaravarman who enjoyed the fruits of his actions. Hence he thinks that the word *para* in the compound *parārthā* alludes to this younger brother. Probably Supratisṭhita had no son to succeed him and Bhāskaravarman, on account of his military ability, good and pleasing manners and patriotic feeling was liked by the people of the province and was elected to the kingship.

A few verses of the Doobi grant (68-71, for this grant see *E. I.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 1 ff) reveal that immediately after the death of their father, Supratisṭhita and Bhāskara were involved in a war with the Gauḍas. Both of them, so says the grant, were carried to Gauḍa by the Gauḍa army due to their ill-luck (*vidhivaśāt*), but their good qualities (*guṇavattay = aiva*) soon enabled them to return home. Who the leader of the Gauḍa army was, is not mentioned in the grant, but he was most probably, as we have said earlier (pp. 167-68), the illustrious Gauḍa monarch *Śaśānka*.[15] D. C. Sircar[16] conjectures that the Gauḍa-Kāmarūpa battle took place near modern Tezpur in Assam.

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[14] *Op. Cit.*, p. 31, fn. 3.

Before entering into the detailed history of King Bhāskaravarman and his kingly career, we give below the genealogy of his dynasty, as obtained from a study of the Nidhanpur copper-plate grant, which contains the names of as many as twelve successive kings, reigning before Bhāskaravarman himself, during a period of nearly three centuries from the commencement of Gupta rule in India. The (broken) Nālandā seal also containing the names of eight predecessors of that king with those of their queens. *Harshacharita* again corroborates this genealogy, with slight variations here and there in the spelling of some of the names, at least upto the fourth ancestor of Bhāskaravarman. The pedigree stands thus :—

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[15] According to some scholars the leader of the Gauḍa army was Mahāsenagupta, cf. *Classical Age*, p. 92, *H. C. P. A.*, p. 178.

[16] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 241-46. P. C. Choudhury points out that "the advance of the Gauḍa army as far as Tezpur is nowhere indicated in the grant", *H.C.P.A.*, p. 178.

4th century A.D.
(probably the last
three quarters).

1. Pushyavarman
I
2. Samudravarman
(=Dattadevī)
I
3. Balavarman
(=Ratnavatī)
I

5th century A. D.

4. Kalyāṇavarman
(=Gandharvavatī)
I
5. Gaṇapati (-varman)[17]
(=Yajñavatī)
I
6. Mahendravarman
(=Suvratā)
I
7. Nārāyaṇavarman
(=Devavatī)
I

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[17] Mentioned simply as Gaṇapati in the Nidhanpur and as Gaṇendravarman in the Doobi plates.

8. Mahābhūtavarman,
alias Bhūtivarman[18]
(=Vijñānavatī)
I
9. Chandramukha(-varman)
(=Bhogavatī)
I
6th century A. D. 10. Sthitavarman[19]
(=Nayanadevī)
I
11. Susthitavarman,[20]
alias Mṛigāṅka
(=Śyāmādevī)
I
7th century A. D.
(the first half)
I I
12. Supratisṭhitavarman 13. Bhāskaravarman,
alias Kumāra[21]

Bhāskaravarman, known also as Kumāra, was the greatest monarch of the Varman dynasty of Kāmarūpa. He was a contemporary of King Harshavardhana of Thaneswar-Kanauj and probably outlived the latter by a few years. It has been noticed in a previous chapter that there existed no friendly relation between the Magadhan and Kāmarūpa houses. But we also said that Mādhavagupta, son of Mahāsenagupta, made an alliance with

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[18] Mentioned under this second name in *Harshacharita.*

[19] Spelt *Sthitavarman* in *Harshacharita.*

[20] Spelt *Susthiravarman* in *Harshacharita.*

[21] Mentioned by both names in *Harshacharita* and by Hiuen Tsiang simply as *Kumārarāja.*

Harshavardhana, probably to fortify himself against the hostile Kāmarūpa king, who had now become so assertive, and kings of other eastern countries. We have seen from a previous chapter how at such a time another aspirant for power in the political horizon of the East, viz. Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa, was attempting to rise. The gradual attainment of political supremacy by that king must have alarmed the Kāmarūpa king as it did even the North Indian suzerain Harsha, and therefore both of them hankered after combining with each other, and forming a confederacy, of which Mādhavagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha also became a member.

The most memorable event in the career of Bhāskaravarman was his friendship with Harsha, which is referred to by the latter's court-poet by the most significant phrase *ajaryyaṁ saṅgataṁ* i.e. "undying association", and compared with the traditionally famous alliance between Arjuna and Kṛishṇa, and between Karṇa and Duryodhana. Before a full account of the nature of this alliance is given, it may be marked here that the description of a foreign potentate like Bhāskara and his powers, as given by Harsha's court-poet, may be relied upon as making a near approach to truth. Such a view seems to be reasonable in consideration of the fact that Bāṇa's tendency should naturally be to minimise the virtues of a distant foreign ruler, seeking a friendly alliance with his own patron king. We propose to give here, with great caution, a summarised version of this episode as presented by Bāṇa.[22] It is quite natural to think that Bhāskaravarman must have felt it very difficult fo him to tolerate the gradual rise into prominence of the king of the neighbouring province of Gauḍa, and he therefore might have cherished for some time past a longing for contracting a friendship with Harsha. Rather it was a reciprocal longing. An occasion for despatching a messenger to Harsha for the contrivance of such an alliance presented itself to the Kāmarūpa king when he heard that the Gauḍa king (Śaśāṅka) had combined with the king of Mālava against the Maukhari ruler Grahavarman, the husband of Harsha's sister. The news of the treacherous murder of King Rājyavardhana by the Gauḍa king might also have contributed towards the hastening of Bhāskara's despatch of an embassy to Harsha for seeking the latter's alliance against their common enemy. When Harsha completed, during his expedition at the head of a vast army against Śaśāṅka, one day's march after his first halt on the banks of the river Sarasvatī, not far from his capital at Thaneswar, he gave audience to Kumāra's (i.e. Bhāskara's) confidential messenger, who reached his camp with enormous loads of valuable presents from the lord of Prāgjyotisha, the chief amongst which was a miraculous parasol of very high worth and merit, the hereditary property of Kāmarūpa kings. This meeting took place somewhere in Northern India between Thaneswar and Kanauj. After exchange of cordiality, the messenger announced that his great master, Bhāskara, desired to form an everlasting friendship with the new *chakravartin* emperor (i.e. Harsha himself). The latter also heartily welcomed the offer. In course of delivery of the verbal message the chief of the embassy declared that Bhāskara had been cherishing since his boyhood a firm resolve never to bow down before the feet of anybody but the god Śiva.[23] The messenger then gives his own idea as to the various means by which his master could fulfil such a unique boast. In his opinion, his king could not do so except in one of three ways[24] viz. by (1) conquering the whole earth, (2) by courting death and by (3) accepting friendship with an unparalled warrior like Harsha as an ally. The suggestion here is clear that, as neither of the first two alternatives is possible, Bhāskara must be anxious to try the third. The messenger then mentions the several purposes, such as collection of wealth and arms, annexation of territories and matrimonial settlement, which induce one king to contract friendship with another. But Harsha was so great a monarch and ruled such an extensive empire, that there was no chance of his falling a victim to these allurements. This was all the greater reason for Bhāskara to make an offer, through this messenger, of an undying alliance with Harsha. This might be properly interpreted as a hint that the Kāmarūpa king was anxious to offer his personal services and remain under obligations to the emperor of Northern India. The messenger expected to be honoured with a favourable reply to carry back to his own king, and added that in case of his compliance with the proposal Bhāskara would proceed to meet personally, the imperial sovereign. On the other hand Harsha himself, on having heard reports of the high accomplishments of king Kumāra, had for some time past been desirous of becoming his friend, and so on the arrival of the embassy with such valuable and rich presents from Kāmarūpa he began to regard that eastern king as a *paroksha suhṛit* i.e. 'an ally without appointment.' He, therefore, unhesitatingly gave his immediate acquiescence to the proposal, and eagerly looked forward to a personal interview with the Kāmarūpa ruler at an early date. It seems very probable that Harsha wanted Bhāskara to assist him in his military campaign against his elder brother's murderer, the Gauḍa king. Moreover, the Northern emperor also planned a thorough military expedition for subjugating the other parts of India. Such was the nature of the alliance between these two rulers.

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[22] Cf. *Harshacharita*—Chap. VII.

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[23] This reminds one of similar boastful desire of Yaśodharman in the Mandasor inscription, cf. the line :—

"स्थाणोरन्यत्र प्रणतिकृपणतां प्रापितं नोत्तमाङ्गम् ॥

Fleet *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 33, p. 146.

[24] Cf. the following passage from *Harshacharita*, Chap. VII :—

"प्रथमस्य शैशवादारभ्य संकल्पः स्थेयान् स्थाणुपदारविन्दद्वयादृते नाहमन्यं नमस्कुर्यामिति। ईदृशश्चायं मनोरथस्त्रिभुवनदुर्लभस्त्रयाणामन्यतमेन सम्पद्यते, सकलभुवनविजयेन वा, मृत्युना वा, यदि वा प्रचण्डप्रतापज्वलनदिग्दाहेन जगत्येकवीरेण देवोपमेन मित्रेण"।

After having thus allied himself with Harsha in the first part of that king's reign, Bhāskara undoubtedly felt happy and secure in his own realm. R. D. Banerji[25] guessed that, as a result of this alliance between the two kings, they both succeeded in defeating Śaśāṅka against whom Harsha had made elaborate military preparations. *Harshacharita* ends abruptly at a point when we find Harsha returning to his moving camp on the banks of the Ganges after the recovery of his sister, Rājyaśrī, from the Vindhya forests, So Bāṇa could not mention the results of his patron's campaign against the Gauḍa king. As has been shown in a previous chapter, the results of this expedition can be learnt from the text of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*,[26] where it is described that Harsha in course of his pursuit of the king of Gauḍa came upto the beautiful city of Puṇḍra (in North Bengal), and then having defeated that king (named in the book as Soma = Śaśāṅka), whom he forced at last to remain confined within the bounds of his own country so that he might not in future aspire to proceed again towards the West, he himself returned leisurely to his own country. But it must be remembered that this Buddhist treatise does not mention Bhāskara an ally of Harsha in this campaign. Smith's conjecture[27] that the Gauḍa king "escaped with little loss" and that he being still in power in A.D. 619-20 "his kingdom probably became subject to Harsha at a later date," appears to be correct. Hence there seems to be no doubt that Harsha's first campaign against Bengal brought him partial success only, and that he could not at all raid and occupy Karṇasuvarṇa, the centre of the Gauḍa kingdom at the time, during this expedition, and Śaśāṅka must have continued in power at that place at least till A.D. 619-20. It should be kept in mind that this expedition of Harsha and its results must have taken place shortly after his accession to the throne in A.D. 606 and the time taken by that achievement could not have been longer than a year or so.

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[25] *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, 2nd edition, Vol. I, p. 108.

[26] Cf. the lines from this book (written in loose Sanskrit), pp. 634-35, already quoted in this dissertation, Chap. VII, p. 185-86.

On the other hand, it is known from the Nidhanpur copper-plate grants that King Bhāskaravarman issued his royal charter from his victorious camp at Karṇasuvarṇa. It has been pointed out before that this place is now identified with Chiruti and its neighbourhood in Murshidabad (p. 156, fn. 1), which formed a part of the kingdom of Gauḍa with Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) amalgamated with it. The question arises, how and when Bhāskara could come to be in possession of Karṇasuvarṇa, which was at that time one of the four or five chief divisions of Bengal, as mentioned by Yuan Chwang. Bhāskara's moving camp at this place is described as having all military resources, such as a fleet of boats, elephants, cavalry and infantry. Mm. P. N. Bhattacharyya[28] is of the opinion that it cannot be stated with certainty that Karṇasuvarṇa was under the administration of Bhāskara, when the copper-plate grant to Brāhmaṇas was issued by him from there, and this happened at a time when the two allies (Harsha and Bhāskara) were probably celebrating their victory at that place, after having successfully expelled the Gauḍa king from there. Such a view does not seem to be very convincing. Mahāmahopādhyāya is rather right when he says elsewhere[29] in his corpus of Kāmarūpa inscriptions that the conquest of Karṇasuvarṇa by the two allies could not be a lasting one, and that the Gauḍa capital was re-occupied by Śaśāṅka after whose death (about A.D. 625) Harsha might have subjugated it.

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[27] *E.H.I.*, p. 339.

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28. *Op. Cit.*, Introduction p. 16 and also pp. 5, 6 and 9.
29. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 16, fn. 2.

To us it seems, however, reasonable that Bhāskara could not probably join his ally personally, when the latter marched against the Gauḍa king in his first campaign. At some later date Harsha might have marched a second time against Śaśāṅka's kingdom in the company of Bhāskara and wrested it either from his own hands or from those of his yet unknown successor some time after his death. It cannot be stated without doubt that Śaśāṅka met his doom at the hands of his two combined enemies on such an occasion. Hence considering all probabilities, we may be justified in holding the view that Harsha was successful in a second campaign in taking possession of Śaśāṅka's kingdom after the latter's death, and made it over to his ally Bhāskaravarman who might have annexed it to his own kingdom. But we know that the successors of Bhāskara, or even the later kings of other dynasties of Kāmarūpa, could not permanently keep Karṇasuvarṇa under their subjection. The reason for Yuan Chwang not mentioning the name of any king ruling in any of the four or five political divisions of Bengal at that period may be sought in the fact that when he visited (in A.D. 648) these countries and also Kāmarūpa, he found most of them included in Harsha's own dominion, and some in that of Bhāskaravarman.

R. C. Majumdar[30] goes a step further than the

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[30] *Ancient Indian History and Civilisation*, p. 348.

Mahāmahopādhyāya and thinks that when Bhāskara "aided the Chinese expedition against the successor of Harshavardhana" and the latter was defeated, "he (Bhāskara) made himself master of Eastern India" and "pitched his victorious camp in the capital of his late rival Śaśāṅka, and thus increased the power and prestige of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa to an extent never dreamt of before". This seems to us to be an extreme view, according to which Bhāskara availed himself of the opportunity, offered by the utter confusion following the death of his former ally, the great Harsha, of "feeding fat his grudge", his grudge being, according to Dr. Majumdar, due to the fact that after Śaśāṅka's death and consequent absorption of his kingdom by Harsha, "Bhāskaravarman came to be looked upon more as a feudatory vassal than an ally." Have we any evidence that there was any weakening of the alliance that was formed so early in the reigns of both these monarchs and apparently continued undisturbed till so late as the early part of A.D. 643, when King Bhāskaravarman offended Harshavardhana by his indiscretion in refusing to comply with the latter's request to send Yuan Chwang[31] immediately from Kāmarūpa to that emperor's camp? The visit too of Bhāskaravarman along with the Chinese pilgrim to Harsha which took place on the banks of the Ganges near Rājmahal in

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[31] Beal—*Life of Hinen Tsiang*, pp. 172 ff.

Eastern India, when the latter was returning home after his attack on Koṅgoda in the south-east, testifies to the temporary nature of the misunderstanding.

The Mahāmahopādhyāya considers it possible that Bhāskara had been at Karṇasuvarṇa very early in life, when he might have accompanied Harsha during his expedition against Śaśāṅka, while Dr. Majumdar thinks that the Kāmarūpa king was there for a long time, even after the death not only of the Gauḍa king, but also of his former ally Harsha. Having weighed carefully the two extreme views of these two scholars, we may take a middle course that Karṇasuvarṇa passed into the hands of Bhāskara, through Harsha's conquest of it, at some date later than his first campaign against Sāśāṅka, which was led by him immediately after the murder of Rājyavardhana, and that this second campaign of Harsha might have taken place either during the life-time of Śaśāṅka or after his death. Another suggestion offers itself in this connection, that Karṇasuvarṇa might not at any time have formed any part of the Kāmarūpa kingdom at all, but Bhāskara might only have pitched his *jaya-skandhā-vāra* (victorious moving camp) there, as an ally of Harsha during the latter's second campaign referred to above, when the emperor came to Bengal for conquests. On this view both North Bengal and the Central Bengal were added to Harsha's empire, and not to the kingdom of Kāmarūpa even in part.

We give below a brief account of the Chinese pilgrim's visit to Bhāskaravarman's kingdom, of the temporary straining of the friendly relations existing so long between the Thaneswar and the Kāmarūpa houses, and of a happy compromise after a very short time. When Yuan Chwang was residing at Nālandā monastery for the second time in A.D. 643, and attending the discourses of his teacher Śīlabhadra, whom the Buddhist pilgrim often consulted regarding his philosophical doubts, an invitation by letter through a messenger reached that teacher from "Kumārarāja of Eastern India" (i.e. Bhāskaravarman), requesting the latter to send without delay the Chinese pilgrim to his court. But His Eminence, Śīlabhadra, had to refuse the invitation because he had already arranged that the pilgrim should next go to the court of Śilādityarāja (i.e. Harshavardhana), before his return to China directly from there. A second invitation was sent by Bhāskara and that also could not be complied with. The king became displeased with the teacher of Nālandā monastery and renewed his invitation pointing out that by personal meeting with the learned Buddhist he expected "the opening of the germ of religion" within himself, and that he should not therefore, by such refusal, cause the world to remain plunged in ignorance, and thus hinder "the deliverance and salvation of the world." The Kāmarūpa king even threatened to destroy the monastery of Nālandā, by swooping down on it with his equipped army and elephants, just as king Śaśāṅka in recent times brought about "the destruction of the Law" and "uprooted the Bodhi tree" at Gayā. The pilgrim, however, agreed to go to Kāmarūpa, specially because he learnt from Śīlabhadra that within its territories "the Law of Buddha has not widely extended." Śīlabhadra advised the priest to become a friend of Bhāskara and cause his heart to open to the truth (of Buddhism), so that in imitation of the king his own people might as well be converted. But it is a known historical fact, that as Bhāskara was a descendant of the Vaishṇava family (*Vaishṇava-vaṁśaḥ*, as Bāṇa describes) and a great devotee of Maheśvara, the Chinese priest was not successful in his mission of converting him and his people to Buddhism. There is no doubt, however, that by calling this king a Brāhmaṇa by caste, what Yuan Chwang really meant was that Bhāskara was a Brahmanical Hindu in religion. For we know that he was a Kshatriya by caste, as he claimed his descent from the Kshatriya hero, Bhagadatta of *Mahābhārata* fame. The pilgrim was, however, well received by the king and the members of his court, and highly honoured during his stay in Kāmarūpa for over a month and a half.

We propose now to refer shortly to the

misunderstanding between Bhāskara and his ally, regarding this distinguished foreign pilgrim. When Harsha was on his way back home after his attack on Koṅgoda, probably his last recorded campaign on the people of the Ganjam district in the South-west coast of the Bay of Bengal, the emperor heard of the pilgrim then residing in the court of Kāmarūpa; and so he sent a messenger to King Kumārarāja requesting him to send Yuan Chwang to his camp at once. Bhāskara, however, used rude language in reply to his ally, saying "he can take my head, but he cannot take the Master of the Law yet". Abrupt came an answer through a messenger from the enraged monarch Harsha, saying "send the head, that I may have it immediately by messenger who is to bring it here". Naturally Bhāskara got frightened and personally proceeded with a large troop of elephants and ships up the Ganges, taking the Chinese pilgrim along with him, and arrived at the country of Kie-shu-ho-ki-lo (Kajaṅgala, near modern Rajmahal). Here on the north bank of the river the two allies met each other, and a happy and joyful reconciliation took place, and the temporary misunderstanding was thus removed.

The three distinguished persons then advanced up the Ganges and arrived at Kanauj after a march of ninety days and there they attended the religious assembly, held by Harsha's commands, for the recitation of Yuan Chwang's new treatise, extolling the

Mahāyāna doctrine, and "exposing the extreme poverty" of the Hīnayāna. To this assembly the disciples of the various Buddhist, Brāhmaṇa and Nirgrantha schools throughout the different kingdoms had been invited; and the kings of eighteen kingdoms were present in it. But the Kāmarūpa king received the highest honour from the king of Kanauj as we find him, in the procession of the golden Buddha image, represented under the form of Brahmā with a precious parasol in his hand, and seated to the left of the image on the stately elephant, which he rode along with his friend Harsha, who himself was represented under the godly garb of Lord Śakra, carrying a white chowrie in his hand and seated on the right. The honoured state-religious guest (the Chinese pilgrim), the state-officers and other princes severally mounted other elephants and they all separately entered the hall of discourse. There the guest from China[32] achieved unopposed the most brilliant success in expounding his thesis, to the greatest chagrin of the unbelievers. After the termination of these ceremonies at Kanauj, which lasted for many days, during which precious and rich gifts were largely made by King Harsha, the latter invited the pilgrim to accompany him to Prayāga, along with King Kumāra of Kāmarūpa, for taking part in the sixth quinquennial assembly to be held at the confluence of the Ganges and the

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[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 177 ff.

Yamunā on the sands, for the distribution of wealth, food and apparel to indigent and needy people, as well as to the priests and believers in all sectarian religions, who would come there from different parts of Northern India.

The Chinese pilgrim though anxious to depart for homeland agreed to proceed towards Prayāga to attend this religious convocation of Harsha. The kings of other States, including Dhruvabhaṭa of Valabhī (Harsha's son-in-law) and Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, attended this magnificent ceremony, in which on several days the installation of the images of the Buddha, the Ādityadeva (the sun-god) and the Īśvara (the Śiva) took place, and the store of different kinds of wealth, accumulated during the past five years, was exhausted by distribution to the various recipients. On the break-up of the Allahabad convocation, which lasted for seventy-five days, the pilgrim wanted permission to depart homewards after yet another stay for ten days with Harsha, when King Bhāskaravarman earnestly requested Yuan Chwang to accompany him to Kāmarūpa and dwell in his dominions, and receive his religious offerings, promising in case of the pilgrim's compliance, to "undertake to found one hundred monasteries on the Master's behalf." But the pilgrim could not make any more delay in leaving India. Both Harsha and Bhāskara offered him all sorts of gold coins and other objects, but he accepted nothing but a cape, "made of coarse skin lined with soft down, which was designed to protect from rain whilst on the road", a gift from the Kāmarūpa king. The latter with Harsha and Dhruvabhaṭa saw the pilgrim again, three days after the first separation, and they took final leave of the traveller. Both these allies were kindly disposed towards Yuan Chwang and they therefore commissioned official guides to accompany the escort.

After this Bhāskara returned to Kāmarūpa, and we know of only another incident in his life. Immediately after Harshavardhana's death, early in A.D. 647 or at the close of A.D. 646, Arjuna or Aruṇāśava, the minister of the late king of Kanauj usurped the throne, but he had to meet a disastrous defeat from the Chinese envoy led by Wang-hiuen-tse, who succeeded in storming the city of Tirhut with the help of the Tibetan and Nepal kings' forces. During this foreign campaign[33] against the usurper, Harsha's former ally, Bhāskara, "sent in abundant supplies of cattle and accoutrements for the victorious army". This help of the Kāmarūpa king was undoubtedly offered to the victor, to save his own kingdom from being plunged in the general political confusion, resulting from the death of Harshavardhana without a worthy successor able to keep intact the vast dominions of the Thaneswar-Kanauj house.

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[33] V. Smith, *E.H.I.*, p. 353.

For a full account of Bhāskaravarman's history a few words are necessary to describe his personal character. Although this king was always conscious of the glory of his own family and anxious to preserve its prestige before the eyes of the world, the other traits of his personal character were also of a superior order. It has been stated above how with his strong and orthodox faith in Brāhmanic religion he possessed a tolerant mind, eager to receive instruction on Buddhism even from the Chinese traveller. He was always anxious that the darkness of ignorance should be dispelled from the earth. Personally he was devoted to Śaivism which received State support, and his people also were considerably under its influence. The king abided rigidly by the injunctions of the Brāhmanic *śāstras*, regarding the preservation of the different castes and social orders. He is described in the Nidhanpur grant as being created by the Creator for the purpose of re-establishing the institution of castes and orders, which had for a long time past become confused. He propagated, it is told there, the light of *Āryya-dharma* by dispelling the darkness of the Kali-age, by a proper expenditure of his revenue on good works of public utiiity. He caused the deep loyalty of his subjects to be heightened, on account of his power of keeping order, display of modesty and cultivation of close acquaintance with them. His gifts were bounteous, and he could be compared with Śibi for offering succour to the needy by self-sacrifice, and in the matter of timely application of the six political expedients he was as skilful as Bṛihaspati himself. His prowess, perseverance and pride were well-known. Free from the usual vices of kings, Bhāskaravarman was always given to performing virtuous deeds. To quote the words of the inscription, he was, as it were, "the very life of Dharma, the abode of justice, the home of virtues, the treasury of supplicants, the shelter of the fearful and and the temple of plenty of Śrī". In short, he was an ideal Hindu monarch of the seventh century in Eastern India.

From the same inscription we know of some State officers working under Bhāskara's Government. The highest State officer who enjoyed the honour of conveying from his king hundreds of royal mandates was Gopāla, who had the distinction of using the five titles of rank beginning with the word *mahat* (*prāpta-pañcha-mahā-śabdaḥ*)[34], which were certainly bestowed on him by the monarch. Either this Gopāla or a person named Śrīkshi (or Śrīrshi)-Kuṇḍa appears to have been appointed as the boundary-attestor in the above grant, which concerned the demarcation of land to be divided amongst more than two hundred Brahmin grantees. The latter person appears to have been the mayor of the capital city of the district Chandrapuri. The title of his office is called *nāyaka* which, in Artha-śāstra literature,[35] sometimes stands for *nāgarika*. Janārdanasvāmin was the *nyāyakaraṇika*, probably a judicial officer for dispensing justice. There were also present at the time of the execution of the grant the representative of the mercantile interest (*vyavahārins*) named Haradatta and the head of the scribe-class (*kāyasthas*) named Dundhunātha. Vasuvarṇa was the enactor of that royal *śāsana* and it was he who caused it to be composed (*śāsayitā* and *lekhayitā*). The name of the person who was in charge of the royal store-house (*bhāṇḍāgārādhikṛita*) was Divākara-prabha. Dattakāra Pūrṇṇa was the *utkheṭayitā* (probably a collector of taxes) and Kālīya was the *sekyakāra*, the engraver[36] of the copper-plate grant.

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[34] Cf. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 142-43, *Mahapratihāra*, *Mahāsandhivigraha*, *Mahāśvaśāla*, *Mahābhāṇḍāgāra*, *Mahāsadhamnabhāga.*

Immediately or shortly after Bhāskaravarman's death, which probably followed that of Harsha-vardhana after a few years, there was, as usual in political affairs, specially in ancient India, an anarchy in Kāmarūpa which brought to an end the dynasty of kings which owed its origin to the ancient King Naraka, and ushered in a new Mlechchha

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[35] *Vide* Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Book I, Chap. 12 and Book II, Chap. 36.

[36] This is the meaning attached to the word by Mm. P.N. Bhattacharyya in his *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī*, p. 43, foot-notes 6 & 7.

(i.e. nonorthodox) line[37] headed by King Śālastambha, who must have reigned sometime in the latter part of the seventh century A.D. This new line of kings continued to rule in Kāmarūpa from their own capital, Harūppeśvara, situated on the bank of the river Lauhitya (and not from Prāgjyotishapura), for more than three centuries, the last of them being named Tyāgasiṁha. In all probability the king who first overthrew the dynasty of Bhāskaravarman was Śālastambha, after whom his son, Vijaya[38] reigned. Then ruled in succession kings Pālaka, Kumāra and Vajradatta. The genealogy of this family, so far indicated, brings us down almost to the middle of the eighth century A.D. For, we are told in Harjaravarman's inscription that after Vajradatta there reigned in Kāmarūpa a king whose name was Harsha (or Harisha, the Prakritised form of the name), an accomplished and pious administrator, who ruled over his people without oppression because he regarded them as his own sons. That this Harsha, king of Kāmarūpa, was a great conqueror who conquered some other countries in Eastern India has been shown in a separate chapter from a stone inscription[39] dated

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[37] *Ibid*, Introduction pp. 18-19 and Text (vv. 9-10), p. 94.

[38] *Ibid*, pp. 48-49 (*Vide* the copper-plate inscription of Harjaravarman).

[39] *I.A.*, Vol. IX, p. 178 and Fleet—*C.I.I.*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. 187.

153 H. E. (=A.D. 759) of the Nepal king Jayadeva II. Harsha is therein said to have gained mastery over the countries of Gauḍa, Uḍra etc., Kaliṅga and Kosala by subduing his enemies with the help of his elephant troops. This king gave his daughter Rājyamatī in marriage with that Nepal king. Harsha must have invaded these countries after the raid of the aspiring Yaśovarman of Kanauj and the march of Lalitāditya of Kashmir over the eastern Indian countries. But it cannot be ascertained whether these conquered countries ever formed any part of the dominion of Harsha, king of Kāmarūpa. The matrimonial relation with the royal family of Nepal indicates that he had much political influence in North-Eastern India. We have also seen before that the mother of this son-in-law of Harsha was the daughter of the Maukhari king, Bhogavarman, who had himself married the daughter of Ādityasena of Magadha. Within, therefore, a period of four generations we observed matrimonial relationship obtaining amongst four royal dynasties in North-Eastern India, viz, the Magadha, the Maukhari, the Nepal and the Kāmarūpa houses. We shall have to close this chapter on the Kāmarūpa kingdom at this point to keep within the limits prescribed for our discourse.

CHAPTER XI

THE KINGDOM OF NEPAL*

The present kingdom of Nepal is a vast mountainous country with valleys strewn here and there and is a State administered independently by a king belonging to an indigenous Gurkha dynasty, ruling through an advisory board of ministers. The kingdom, however, is very old and has passed through many a vicissitude, having been ruled at different periods of her history by kings of various dynasties, sometime independently and sometime as *sāmantas* or feudatory chiefs. In ancient times the province was confined within the limits of the valley or valleys near about Kāṭmāṇḍu, the capital. That the name of *Nepāla* is an old one can be attested by a reference to the adjective *Naipālikaṁ*, meaning 'belonging to Nepāla', used in Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra*[1] and applied to a special kind of blankets made of sheep's wool (*āvikaṁ*).

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* Since the publication of the first edition of this book much new information on the ancient history of Nepal has been obtained by scholars. In revising this chapter now, I have derived good help from D. R. Regmi's recent book *Ancient Nepal* (Calcutta, 1960) and R. Gnoli's invaluable corpus of *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters* (Part I, Text, Rome, 1956).

[1] *Vide* Ganapati Sastri's edition—Book II, chap. XI, p. 193.

The late Dr. Vincent Smith,[2] believing in the tradition that Nepal formed an integral part of the Mauryan empire under King Aśoka, thought that as it was not very far from Pāṭaliputra, it was probably administered directly from the Magadhan capital. But the first undoubted historical reference to the Nepal valley is found in Samudragupta's famous Allahabad Pillar inscription[3] of the fourth century A.D., whence it is learnt that, like Kāmarūpa and other eastern *pratyanta* countries, Nepāla also was brought under the allegiance of the Gupta emperor, and forced to remain subject to his lord-paramountcy by payment of tribute. According to our calculation the first king of the Lichchhavi family of the Nepal branch, Jayadeva I, ruled in the first century A.D. The inscriptions of Nepal do not record the names of kings for some generations. Jayadeva II's inscription (No. 15 of Indraji), though of the eighth century A.D., is the central record round which revolves to a great extent the chronology of the early Nepal rulers. But it is known that during the first part of the 7th century A.D., this country was ruled, often simultaneously in two different portions of the country, by kings belonging to the Lichchhavi family and the Ṭhākurī dynasty and continued to be so ruled upto about the middle of that century. We are not in a position, however, to establish the exact connection between the Nepal and the old Vaiśālī branches of the Lichchhavis. Yuan Chwang[4] in the seventh century remarked that the Nepalese Lichchhavis were eminent scholars, believed in Buddhism and ranked themselves as Kshatriyas.

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[2] *E. H. I.*, pp. 365-66.

[3] *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 1, l. 22.

The early history of Nepal can be known only from two sources viz. the Nepal *Vaṁśāvalīs* and the stone inscriptions. Both these sources have been very fully discussed in a most able manner by antiquarians,—first by Bhagwanlal Indraji[5] with the help of Dr. Bühler, afterwards by the late Dr. Fleet[6] and then by M. Sylvain Lévi[7] in his most admirable and comprehensive treatise entitled *Le Népal*. Lastly Raniero Gnoli[8] has opened out a vast field for all scholars to work on by his corpus of Nepalese inscriptions. It seems that a most fundamental difference yet remains between the two former scholars (Indraji and Fleet), regarding the interpretation of the eras, to which the dates of the important inscriptional documents of Nepal are to be referred. We, however, reserve till a later stage of this chapter the discussion on the chronology of the early Nepal rulers.

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[4] *Vide* Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 84.

[5] *I. A.*, Vol. XIII (1884), pp. 411 ff.

[6] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Introduction (Appendix IV), pp. 117 ff.

[7] Sylvain Lévi—*Le Népal*, Vols. I-II, 1905 and Vol. III, 1908.

[8] Raniero Gnoli—*Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta characters*, Part I, Text and Plates, Rome, 1956.

In order to understand clearly the chronology of the early Nepal kings, adjusted by us in this chapter, and to enable scholars to discuss the historical materials obtained from some of Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscriptions[9] Nos. 1-15, Bendall's inscriptions[10] Nos. I-IV, and some of M. Sylvain Lévi's collections,[11] as well as of some of Ranier Gnoli's[12] newly published inscriptions. We propose to give below their contents arranged chronologically, with a short note on the place of their discovery, for convenience of reference. We need make no apology for treating below these inscriptions in detail, for they have long been neglected by Indian scholars, although it will be plain that there is distinct cultural affinity between the Nepal people and the Indians from a remote past. M. Sylvain Lévi's book is in French. It is generally felt by Indian scholars that a detailed chapter on the early history of Nepal, written in English, is a desideratum. In revising this chapter we derived some help from the scholarly work of D. R. Regmi also.

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[9] *I. A.*, Vol. IX (1880), pp. 163 ff.

[10] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV (1885), p. 98 (Text of No. I) and Bendall's *Journey in Nepal*, pp. 72 ff., Plate VIII, pp. 74 ff. Plate IX, pp. 77 ff., Plate X, and p. 76, Plate XI.

[11] *Le Népal*, tome 3, Nos. I-XX.

[12] *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta characters*, Part I, Text and Plates.

Indraji No. I, Gnoli I. *An Inscription of the Lichchhavi King Mānadeva, dated* [*Vikrama-*] *saṁvat 386* (= *A.D. 329*).

[Treated as fragmentary, because the buried lower portion of the stone could not be laid bare by the Pandit. Incised in Northern Indian characters on the lower part of a broken pillar, placed near the door of the temple of Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa (old image of Vishṇu riding on Garuḍa) situated about 5 miles N.E of Kāṭmāṇḍu, and crowned by a lotus capital surmounted by a Garuḍa. The characters used closely resemble those of the early Gupta inscription. Language used in it is Sanskrit (prose and verse)].

Verse 1 describes the great Hari with his chest marked by the Śrīvatsa sign as residing in Dolādri (the name of the hill on which the temple stands). In verse 2 is mentioned King Vṛishadeva who was surrounded by sons who were learned, proud, constant, famous and self-disciplined. His son (v. 3) was King Śaṅkaradeva, who was unconquerable in battles by enemies, and who enjoyed a prosperous kingdom, and protected the earth through the help of approved officials (*abhimata-bhṛityaiḥ*). The next virtuous king, Dharmadeva (v. 4), ruled the vast hereditary kingdom with justice. Verses 5 and 6 referred to his wife and the life of that king and his character. We know from verse 7 that his faithful wife was Rājyavatī, who gave birth to King Mānadeva of unblamable character. Verses 8-11 tell in a most pathetic way of the queen's announcement[13] to his son of the death of his father, the king, and her firm desire to follow her husband as she felt life miserable without her lord, and they also refer to her appointment of Mānadeva to reign in his father's place. One of these verses (v. 10) mentions the determination, out of filial devotion, of the prince to give up his own life, before his mother gave up her own ; so the son succeeded in dissuading his queen-mother from self-immolation, and then both the mother and the son together performed the last rites of the deceased king. Verses 12 and 13 state the personal qualifications of Mānadeva. It is learnt from verses 14 and 15 that the king sought and obtained his mother's consent to his proposal to repay his debt to his late father, not by austerities, but by "true and rightly performed feats of arms" (*yathāvad=astra-vidhinā*), as he was well aware of his father's military success and erection of high pillars of victory on earth. Intending, therefore, to become "initiated in the rites of the battle-sacrifice offered by Kshatriyas", Mānadeva led an expedition[14] to the east to crush his enemies, declaring that he would instal on their thrones those princes who would remain obedient to him. In this expedition he reduced to obedience some of the rebellious *sāmantas* of the east and then marched back to the west (V. 17) where also he was informed of the misdeeds of a feudal chief[15] whom he challenged to submit, on pain of being forced to submission by his valour. Ultimately he defeated Mallapurī by crossing the Gaṇḍakī river (Vv. 18-19) and then returned to his own country and began to offer gifts along with his mother to Brāhmaṇas.

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[13] *Cf.* the fourth quarter of v. 8 running thus :—

"राज्यं पुत्रक कारयाहमनुयाम्यद्यैव भर्तुर्गतिम्" ।

[14] *Cf.* v. 14 :—

"यूपैश्चारुभिरुच्छ्रितैर्व्वसुमती पित्रा ममालङ्कृता
क्षात्रेणाजिमखाश्रयेण विधिना दीक्षाश्रितोहं स्थितः [।]
यात्राम्प्रत्यरिसङ्क्षयाय तरसा गच्छामि पूर्व्वान्दिशम्
ये चाज्ञावशवर्त्तिनो मम नृपा संस्थापयिष्यामि तान्" [॥१४॥]

2. Sylvain Lévi II, Gnoli III.—*The Inscription of Lajanpat, dated [Vikrama-] saṁvat 389 (= A.D. 332).*

This inscription records the installation of the image of a Vishṇu (in his dwarf incarnation, *vikrāntamūrttiṁ*) by *rājā* Mānadeva for the increase of the religious merit of his mother, Rājyavatī, in the month of Vaiśāka (in the bright fortnight) of the *saṁvat* 389.

3. The Inscription No. IV of Gnoli states that one Naravarman set up according to the command (perhaps of the conquering king Mānadeva) a Śiva-liṅga at this place (Lajumpat) in saṁvat 388 (= A.D. 331).

4. There occurs the date saṁvat 399 (= A.D. 342) in a small inscription (Gnoli V) in the Temple

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[15] *Cf.* the third quarter of v. 17 :—

"आहूती यदि नैति विक्रमवशादेश्य(ष्य)त्यसौ मे वशं" ।

of Indal-devī, Kathmandu. In the same year, saṁvat 399, one Ratnasaṅgha established a god named Ratneśvara (liṅga) for the maintenance of whose temple he granted several pieces of land in Deo-Patan (Gnoli VI). This epigraph belongs to the reign of Mānadeva I.

5. Sylvain Lévi III, Gnoli VII—*The inscription of To-bahal* (*Kāṭmāṇḍu*), *dated* [*Vikrama-*] *saṁvat 402* (=*A.D. 345*).

This inscription records the installation of a sun-god by the name of Indra and the allotment of some field and land to the god, by the chief of a corporation of merchants, named Guhamitra, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha of the saṁvat 402, during the reign of Mānadeva I.

6. Indraji No. 2, Gnoli VIII. *An Inscription of a person named Jayavarman in the reign of Mānadeva.* [*Vikrama-*] *saṁvat 413* (= *A.D. 356*).

[Incised on a stone forming the base of a *liṅga*, placed opposite the northern door of the famous temple of Paśupati, 3 miles N.E. of Kāṭmāṇḍu. Characters belong to the early Gupta period. Language Sanskrit].

This epigraph records the erection of a *liṅga* of the name of Jayeśvara by a person named Jayavarman for the welfare of the people and their king, and mentions a permanent endowment (*akshayanīvī*) for defraying expenses of *kāraṇa-pūjā* (worship on festive days and other occasions). This he does, as he says, by favour of king Mānadeva.

7. We have from Gnoli's Inscription No. IX that during the reign of Mānadeva in the saṁvat 427 (A.D. 370) a man named Nirapeksha set up an image (now lost) near the entrance door of the temple of Chaṅgu-Nārāyaṇa.

8. Gnoli's Inscription No. X contains a reference to the establishment of a *liṅga* named Prabhukeśvara by a person called Prasaṅgha during the reign of Mānadeva. The date of the epigragh is now illegible. The base of the image lies in a quadrangle of a house in Deo-Pātan near the Paśupati Temple.

9. Gnoli XII—*A stone-slab inscription in the temple of Ādi-Nārāyaṇa, Thankot, dated saṁvat 428 (=A.D. 371).*

This inscription forms a grant by Bhaṭṭārakamahārāja Śrī-Vasantadeva made to a lady named Jayasundarī. The boundaries of the village granted are given in it. This grant is almost of a type similar to later land-grants by issue of copper-plates. The dūtaka was Yājñika Virochanagupta. The grant was issued on the first day of the bright fortnight of the Mārggaśirsha month of saṁvat 428.

10. Indraji No. 3, Gnoli XIII, *An Inscription of King Vasantadeva, dated* [*Vikrama-*] *saṁvat 435* (= *A.D.* 378).

[Incised on a slab of stone with a semi-circular top, adorned by a relievo showing a *chakra* and two *śaṅkhas*, not far from the temple of Jaist Lagantol Kāṭmāṇḍu. It is therefore a Vaishṇava epigraph. Fragmentary. Letters agree closely with forms of the early Gupta period. Language Sanskrit].

The famous king, *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja* Vasantadeva, who meditates on the lordly feet of the *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja*, the *parama-daivata* Bappa (a term probably meaning the father i.e. 'le successeur régulier de son pere', as M. Sylvain Lévi takes it, and not a general title used by chief priests as thought by Indraji), issued command from Mānagṛiha[14] (the name of the capital or the royal residence, undoubtedly named after king Mānadeva) for a grant to somebody (not known by name owing to the destruction, in parts, of the inscription on the stone). The *dūtaka* (messenger) of the grant was the *sarvadaṇḍanāyaka*[15] *mahāpratihāra* (the chief administrator of criminal justice and the chief of the guards,

[14] Mānagṛiha—"la maison de Māna". (*Le Népal*, t. 2 p. 106). M. Sylvain Lévi in the same page refers also to the words Śri-Mānavihāra mentioned in one inscription, of Aṁśuvarman, as alluding to 'le convent de Māna', *Māneśvara, a liṅga* installed probably by King Māna and the word Śri Mānāṅka (written in Gupta characters on coins), meaning 'a la marque de Māna'.

[15] With due deference to Prof. Sylvain Lévi, we differ from the meaning he attaches to this word, viz. 'commandant en chef') vide *Le Népal*, t. 1, p. 281). In that case the right meaning he gives to the officer, *mahābalādhyaksha*, viz. "inspecteur des armées" loses its force, as being tautological,

lit. doorkeepers) Ravigupta. The name Mahīsīla appears to be that of the local official head who transacted administrative business (*vyavaharati*) and had jurisdiction over the place of the grant.

11. Gnoli XI, Sylvain Lévi IV. *Harigāon pilaster Inscription* (*date missing*). The characters, according to Gnoli, reveal that it dates back to the times of Mānadeva or, at the latest, of Vasantadeva.

This epigraph is of a peculiar *praśasti* type. It consists of 34 stanzas composed in various metres by a person named Anuparama and forms an eulogium of Bhagavān Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa) who is highly praised for saving Brahmanic religion from the false arguments of sophisticators (*Kutārkkikas*) by writing the epic *Kāvya*, the Bhārata (Mahābhārata) for the people's attainment of the *muktimārgga*. The writer records that none else was so very competent to speak of religious subject than Dvaipāyana himself.

12. Sylvain Lévi VI, Gnoli XIV—*The Inscription of Kisipidi, dated* [*Vikrama-*] *saṁvat 449* (= *A.D.* 392).

This is a fragmentary inscription recording a grant in which reference is made to the payment of the customary taxes (probably to the grantees). The *dūtaka* was the *sarvadaṇḍanāyaka-mahāpratihāra* Ravigupta. It was issued on the first bright *daśamī* day of the month of Āshaḍha (*prathamāshā* [*ḍh*] *a-śukla-daśamyāṁ*) in the *saṁvat* 449. The epigraph belonged undoubtedly to the reign of Vasantadeva,

M. Sylvain Lévi, however, takes the date to correspond with A.D. 559-60

13. Gnoli XVI—*Stone-slab inscripton in the quadrangle of the Paśupati temple, dated saṁvat 462 (=A.D. 405)*

It records the establishment of a liṅga symbol of god Śambhu of the name of Anuparameśvara by one Ābhīrī (a cowherd's wife, or a woman of the Abhīra tribe) for the enhancement of merit of her dead husband and for the good of her children, Bhaumagupta and others and the gift by her of two pieces of kshetra-land in Timpāgramain for the upkeep of the god's daily necessities. The date is the 2nd tithi of the month of Jyeshṭha in the *saṁvat* year 462.

14. Gnoli XV—*Stone-slab Inscription of Balambū village, Thankot, dated Saṁvat 454 (=A.D. 397)*

This epigraph was issued under the order of *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja* Vasantadeva from Mānagṛiha. It records the *ājñā* about the grant of Kshetra-land. The *dūtaka* was *sarvva-daṇḍanāyaka-mahāpratihāra* Ravigupta. It appears that *pratihāra* Bhavagupta was a local administrative officer at the time. The date is Jaishṭha 7th day of the bright fortnight of the *saṁvat* year 454. There also occurs the name of Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta Kramalīla.

15. Gnoli XVII—*Inscription in bad Sanskrit on tha base of a liṅga on way to Mṛigasthalī, Deo-Pātan, dated saṁvat 469 (=A.D. 412).*

It records that a *mahārāja-mahāsāmanta* Kramalīla informs Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Rāmadeva of the grant of a piece of kshetra-land by a lady named Mānamatī to (the liṅga named) Nātheśvara on the Śukla-paurṇṇamāsī day of Vaiśākha month in *Saṁvat* 469.

16. Gnoli XVIII—*An inscription on the base of an image of the Buddhist god Avalokiteśvara* (named in it as *Āryyālokiteśvaranātha*) established during the reign of Rāmadeva by Mahendramatī, wife of Paramopasaka Maṇigupta. Its date is missing.

17. Gnoli XIX—*Stone-slab inscription at Chawkitar in Thankot.* Decorated with a *chakra* and two *śaṅkhas*. Date [Vikrama-] saṁvat 482 (=A.D. 425). Three other inscriptions at Luh-Mahādeva, Kulanchhe and Kisipidi respectively have identical text and date. Only the name of the locality differs in the last two inscriptions. It is named Kichapriciṅgrāme instead of Tegvalgrāme. They are grants made by Bhaṭṭāraka-mahāraja Gaṇadeva from Mānagṛiha residence. Mahāpratihāra Bhaumagupta is mentioned. The day is Śrāvaṇa-śukla pratipad of saṁvat 482=A.D. 425.

18. Sylvain Lévi VIII, Gnoli XIX—*The Kisipidi Inscription of Gaṇadeva, dated [Vikrama-] saṁvat 482 (=A.D. 425).*

It records an address issued by King Gaṇadeva, who is described as using the epithets, *bappapādānuddhyāta* and *mahārāja*, from the residence called

Mānagṛiha, to the house-holders of the village of Kichaprichiṁ regarding a grant. The administrator of the locality seems to have been one Prasādagupta. It is, however, not clear from the text of this record that Bhaumagupta exercised the function of a *sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka* and *mahāpratihāra* (l. 7.) under king Gaṇadeva, just as Ravigupta did under Vasantadeva. The day was the bright *pratipada* of the month of Śrāvaṇa of the *saṁvat* 482. It may be noted here that three other inscriptions in three different places about other such grants are of the same date and are composed in identical text.

19. Gnoli XX—*An inscription on the base of an image of Hari-Hara in the quadrangle of a house, called Tyāgal Tole, Deo-Pātan, dated (Vikrama) saṁvat 489 (=A.D. 432).*

It is a unique epigraph describing the establishment of the image of Hari-Hara (called in it also by the different names of Śūlabhṛit-chārṅgapāṇi, Arddha-Saurīśvara, Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa-Svāmī, and Keśava-Śaṅkara) by Svami-Vārtta, son of Bhaumagupta, during the reign of Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-Śrī Gaṇadeva, on the 2nd of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in the *saṁvat* 489.

20. Sylvain Lévi VIII, Gnoli XXI—*The Inscription of Tsapaligāon, dated [Vikrama-] saṁvat* 478 (=*A.D. 432*).

This is also a broken record about a grant by *Bhaṭṭārakamahārāja* named Gaṇadeva, issued from the Mānagṛiha palace on the 12th day of the bright fortnight in the month of Śrāvaṇa in the *saṁvat* 489. The *dūtaka* in this grant is named *Vṛishavarman styled Bhaṭṭārakapādīya* i.e. an officer belonging (probably) to the personal staff of the king himself.

21. Sylvain Lévi XIII, Gnoli XXXV—*The Harigāon Inscription (I) of Aṁśuvarman, dated [Harsha-] saṁvat 30 (= A.D. 636).*

This inscription forms a record of the *svayam=ājñā* type (i.e. the ruler's own voluntary order) issued from the Kailāsakūṭabhavana palace by the *mahā-sāmanta* Aṁśuvarman using the usual epithets, *Bhagavat-Paśupatibhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta* and *Bappa-pādaparigṛihīta*. It is a direction to the donees and the State-officers appointed to collect the dues of the people according to the limits prescribed (*maryādā-paṇa-grahaṇ=ādhikṛita*). It contains a list[16] of donations (*prasāda*) to beneficiaries of various kinds. The value of each donation in *purāṇa* and *paṇa* coins is mentioned in the epigraph. The date of the charter is the sixth day of a bright fortnight of the *saṁvat* 30.

22. Sylvain Lévi IX, Gnoli XXV—*The Inscription Tulaccho-Tol, Bhatgaon, of the time of Śivadeva 1, dated 1, dated [Gupta-] saṁvat 317 (= A.D. 636-37).*

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[16] Vide the following passage of M. Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, t. 3, p. 83 : Aṁcuvarman, en qualité de *mahā-sāmanta*, institue un assez grand nombre de donations (prasāda) affestees a des benéficiaries de genres divers : divinités, fonctionaries, animaux, porses, rues".

The form of the address in this record resembles that in following ones of the same king Śivadeva I. The king who is styled here *bappa-pādānuddhyāta*, *Lichchhavikulaketu* and *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja* issues the address from the Mānagṛiha residence to the householders of the village named Khṛipuṅgrāma and their chiefs, stating that on the advice of the *mahāsāmanta* Aṁśuvarman, of great fame, the destroyer of enemies, he issued the command of this grant, in which he inserts certain conditions for the entrance of Government officers into the granted land. It appears that Bhogavarmma-gomin was the *dūtaka*. The *saṁvat* number, read 500. 10.. by the French savant, does not seem to be correct. We, however, think that it was a date in *saṁvat*, numbering 317 and not 517 and it refers to the Gupta era.

23. Bendall No. I, Gnoli XXIV,—*An Inscription of Śivadeva I, [Gupta-] saṁvat 313 (=A.D 636-37)*

[Bendall[17] read and published this epigraph with the help of Bhagwanlal Indraji, but he hurriedly did so, as he himself acknowledges, because he was then preparing to leave India. Fleet[18] wrongly took the date to be 316 and Gnoli reads it as 517, but Bendall's reading of 300 was correct].

It records an address (almost similar in form to the one embodied in No. 5) issued to the householders of village led by their heads (*pradhāna-janapurassarān*), from the Mānagṛiha residence, about a royal favour regarding the right of entry there of Government officers, by *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja* Śivadeva, the banner of the Lichchhavikula, on the advice of the *mahāsāmanta* Aṁśuvarman, who quelled the unmeasured strength of the enemies by his own great and unsullied prowess (in wars). The *dūtaka* was Bhogavarmagomin. It is quite probable that this Bhogavarman was the same person as the sister's son of Aṁṣuvarman, who belonged to the Maukhari dynasty and later became the father-in-law of the Lichchhavi King Śivadeva (II).

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[17] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 97 f, and Bendall's *Journey in Nepal*, p. 72 ff, Plate VIII.

[18] Fleet—*C.I.I.*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. 178.

24. Indraji No. 5, Gnoli XXVII,—*A broken Inscription of Śivadeva I, date Gupta Saṁvat 318* (*= A.D. 637-38*).

[Incised on a stone-slab near Buddha Nīlakaṇṭha tank, 5 miles north of Kātmāṇḍu. Characters closely resemble those of the inscription, Gnoli XL, dated 335 *saṁvat* = A.D 654-55].

It records an address issued by *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja* Śivadeva (I), the banner of the Lichchhavi family (*Lichchhavi-kula-ketu*) from the Mānagṛiha residence to the inhabitants of a locality (name being lost), certainly about some grant made by the king for their welfare, at the instance of *mahāsāmanta* Āṁśuvarman, who is herein described[19] as "one who has destroyed the power of all enemies by his heroic majesty, obtained by victories in numerous great wars and whose brilliant fame, gained by the trouble he took in properly protecting the subjects, pervades the circle of the quarters". The dūtaka was Vipravarmagomin.

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[19] *Cf*. the epithets :—"अनेक-पृथु-समर-सम्पात-विजयाधिगत-शौर्यप्रतापापहत-

25. Sylvain Lévi XIV, Gnoli XXXVI—*The Harigāon Inscription (II) of Aṁśuvarman, dated [Harsha-] saṁvat 32 (=A.D. 638).*

This inscription is also of the same *mahāsāmanta* Aṁśuvarman (described with his usual titles as in the preceding record). It is an address issued by him from the Kailasakūṭabhavana to the householders, cultivators and other heads of families regarding a number of donations (with values stated in individual cases in *purāṇa* and *paṇa* coins) to temples, establishments and persons, belonging to different religious sects, Śaivism, Vaishṇavism, Buddhism etc. then prevailing in Nepal. It is a record of allotments (*maryādā-bandha*). It contains the important information that the donor possessed a "pure heart which was engaged in work conducive to the welfare of his people" (*praja-hit=ārth=odyata-śuddha-chetasā*). His only concern was how his people would feel happy (*kathaṁ prajā me sukhitā bhavet*). Its date is the 13th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha in *sāṁvat* 32. For a

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सकल-शत्रु-पक्ष-प्रतापेन," and "सम्यक् - प्रजा - पालन-परिश्रमोपार्ज्जित-शुभ्रयशोभिव्याप्त-दिङ्मण्डलेन"।

study of the history of religious movement in Nepal such inscriptions are valuable.

26. Sylvain Lévi XV, Gnoli XXXVII—*The Sanga Inscription of Aṁśuvarman, dated* [*Harsha-*] *saṁvat 32* (= *A.D. 638*).

This is also an inscription belonging to the reign of Aṁśuvarman. All the epithets usually mentioned along with his name occur here also. It is an address issued from the Kailāsakūṭabhavana by the *mahā-sāmanta* described in this record as *kshititala-tilakabhūta* and *kutuhali-janat=ānimesha-nayan=āvalokyamāna* i.e. "at which the winkless eyes of curious people are always cast") to the *pradhānas* and other heads of families in the village Śaṅgāgrāma regarding certain kind of remission on the question of some contribution of oil by the village-people. (cf. the line :—*nātaḥ pareṇaitad vastu-tailaṅ kasyachid deyam*). The bestowal of this privilege by the *mahāsāmanta* was recorded in this charter of the *svayam=ājñā* type (direct order). In this inscription also we find Aṁśuvarman described as one always busy in bringing about the welfare of the people (*prajā-hita-samādhāna-tatpara*). The *dūtaka* was *sarvadaṇḍanāyaka Rājaputra* Vikramasena. The latter is also the *dūtaka* in inscription No. 4 above. Its date is the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādra of *saṁvat* 32.

27. Sylvain Lévi X, Gnoli XXIX—*The*

Inscription of Thoka, dated [*Gupta-*] *saṁvat 319* (=*A.D. 638-39*).

This is a fragmentary inscription, which preserves only the information that in the grant recorded, one Vipravarmma-gomin acted as the *dūtaka*, and the charter was issued on the tenth day of a bright fort-night of a month (name lost) in *saṁvat* 519, as read by the French scholar. We feel certain that the date was 319 *saṁvat*, which is to be referred to the Gupta era, and which, therefore, will correspond to A. D. 638-39. Gnoli's reading 519 *saṁvat* appears incorrect. It must have belonged to the reign of Śivadeva I.

28. Indraji No. 6, Gnoli XXXIX—*An Inscription of Aṁśuvarman, dated* [*Harsha-*] *saṁvat 33* (=*A.D. 639*).

[Incised on a stone-slab near a village called Bungmati, 4 miles south of Kāṭmāṇḍu, the top of which shows a sculpture of the Buddhist symbol of the wheel of Law between two deers. This stone, it may be noted, is taken out every 12 years on the occasion of the Rathayātrā festival of Avalokiteśvara, whose temple is situated in the centre of the village. Characters resemble those in the last few inscriptions. Language Sanskrit].

It forms a record of an order, issued from the Kailāsakūṭabhavana residence by the *mahāsāmanta* Aṁśuvarman, favoured by the feet of Paśupati Bhaṭṭāraka and meditating the feet of his Bappa (father), to the inhabitants of a certain village. The epigraph is concerned with the preservation of cocks, pigs, fishes etc. The *dūtaka* is *mahāsarva* [*daṇḍa-nā*] *yaka* Vikra [masena]. The restoration of both the name and the title appears to have been rightly contemplated by Bhagwanlal Indraji. In our opinion (as against that[20] of Fleet), this Vikramasena may be identical with the Rājaputra of the same name in No. 4. This inscription of A.D. 640 and that one (No. 4) of A.D. 654-55 to be almost contemporary records.

29. Sylvain Lévi XI, Gnoli XXX—*The Inscription of Dharampur, dated* [*Gupta-*] *saṁvat 320* (= *A.D. 639-40*).

This is a *samājñāpanā* form of address found in fragments from the preserved portion of which it is only learnt that the king (Śivadeva) directed the householders of the village in which the land-grant was made, to respect the two-fold privilege granted to it and he also declares that his successors, *dharmmagurus* ('teachers of justice') as they are, should continue to maintain the donation made by their predecessors. The *dūtaka* in this charter was *Vārtta* Bhogachandra, and it was issued on the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha in the *saṁvat* 320. It may be noted here that the *saṁvat* number is not 520, as read by M. Sylvain

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[20] Fleet—*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Introduction pp. 178 ff, fn. 2.

Lévi. The symbol for 300 is clear to view even on the plate. It is to be referred, in our opinion, to the Gupta era.

30. Sylvain Lévi XII, Gnoli XXXI—*The Khopasi Inscription of Śivadeva I, dated [Gupta-] saṁvat 320 (= A. D. 639-40)*.

It is a *samājñāpanā* form of address, issued from the Mānagṛiha residence, to the householders and the *pradhānas* of the village of Kurppāsī, by *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja* Śivadeva I (herein described as *Lichchhavi-kulānandakara*). The king states that with his approval the *mahāsāmanta* Aṁśuvarman, who, it is mentioned,[21] "removed the darkness of ignorance by means of the light of the rays of the gems in the shape of his own virtues", "obtained prospects of welfare by his devotional obeisance to the lotus-feet of Lord Bhava", and "uprooted the multitude of all enemies by means of the strength of the pair of his own arms", granted to these villagers the privilege that in all affairs they shall not have to go to the *adhikaraṇas*, departments (of justice). The affairs shall be submitted to the local proprietor (*svatalasvāmin*) for settlement, and that they shall have the right of use of only one gate. There is also a direction that on the two occasions viz.

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[21] Cf. the epithets—"*svaguṇa-maṇi-mayūkh = āloka* [*dhva*] *st = ājñānatimireṇa, bhagvad-Bhava-pāda-paṅkaja-praṇām = ānushṭhāna-tātparyy = opātt = āyati-hita-śreyasā, svabhuja-yuga-bal = otkhāt ā* [*khi*] *la-vairi-varggeṇa*". *Le Nèpal*, t. 3, p. 79.

Dvārodghāṭana and *Kailāsakūṭa-yātrā*, each villager should give fifty pieces of *jāti-śukla-mṛittikā* (genuine silver coins or lumps ?). Then occur the usual warning to the interferers and direction to the future kings for preserving these privileges granted to the village. The *dūtaka* was one Deśavarmmagomin, and the charter was executed on the fifth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra in the *saṁvat* 320. It may be noted here that as in the preceding inscription the symbol for the *saṁvat* is not 520 as read by M. Sylvain Lévi.

31. Bendall No. II, Gnoli XXXVIII—*An Inscription [of Aṁśuvarman], dated [Harsha-] saṁvat 34 (=A.D. 640).*

This is a charter[22] issued from Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana by the *mahāsāmanta* Aṁśuvarman (name restored), recording the grant of two fields for the purpose of making provision of repairs of some building. The *dūtaka* is the *Mahābalādhyaksha* Vindusvāmin.

32. Indraji No. 7, Gnoli XLI—*An Inscription of Aṁśuvarman, dated [Harsha-] saṁvat 39 (=A.D. 645).*

[Incised on a stone-slab near a temple of Gaṇeśa, not far from the Paśupati temple. Characters same as in the few preceding inscriptions. Language Sanskrit].

This inscription, like the preceding ones, is one of the peculiar records embodying the *samājñāpanā* of the king of Nepal regarding instructions on some dedications. The order in this record was issued from the Kailāsakūṭabhavana residence by *Bhagavat-Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka-pādānugṛihīta* and *Bappa-pādanudhyāta* Śrī-Aṁśuvarman, herein described as one who, on account of the destruction of "his false opinion (on religion) by pondering day and night over the meaning of various *śāstra*s, considers the arrangement of preservation of religious and charitable institutions his greatest pleasure." This king commands by this charter the non-interference (*apraveśa*) of the officials of the Western Court (*Paśchimādhikaraṇa-vṛitti-bhujaḥ*) in the work of the members of the *Adhaḥśāla-pañchālikās* (committees for the administration of temples and their endowments) under whose protection were placed the three *liṅga* forms of Śiva installed by the king's relatives as stated below. The *liṅga* named Śūrabhogeśvara was installed by his own sister, Bhogadevī, mother of Bhogavarman and wife of Rājaputra Śūrasena, for the increase of merit of her husband. The second *liṅga* called Laḍita-maheśvara was installed by her daughter, the king's niece, Bhāgyadevī by name, and the third *liṅga* named Dakshiṇeśvara by her (i.e. the latter's) elder brothers [or her ancestors ?] (*etat-pūrvvajaiḥ*) The *dūtaka* was the *Yuvarāja* named Udayadeva (probably the heir-apparent of Aṁśuvarman's suzerain viz. the Lichchhavi king

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[22] Bendall, *Journey in Nepal*, p. 74 f, Plate IX,

Dhuruvadeva). To us it seems that this *Yuvarāja* Udayadeva was of young age in A.D. 645 and belonged undoubtedly to the Lichchhavi dynasty and not to the Ṭhākurī family as taken by Fleet.[23]

33. Indraji No. 8, Gnoli XLVIII—*An Inscription of Vibhuvarman, dated* [*Harsha-*] *saṁvat 45* (?) (=*A.D. 651*).

[Incised on the side of the mouth of a water-course on the road from Kāṭmāṇḍu to the Residency. Characters resemble those of the last few inscriptions. The second figure (5) of the date seems of doubtful reading. Language Sanskrit].

It is not a formal charter like the preceding ones, but records only the meritorious work of building a good conduit (*praṇālī*) by one *vārtta* (an officer enjoying pay from the king's treasury) named Vibhuvarman, by favour of Aṁśuvarman. The word *vārtta* may also refer to an officer of the department of agriculture (*vārttā*). M. Sylvain Lévi[24] thinks that this officer had probably to exercise "les fonctions de fermiers géneraux."

34. Indraji No. 9, Gnoli L—*An Inscription of Jishṇugupta, dated* [*Harsha-*] *saṁvat 48* (=*A.D. 654*).

[Incised on a stone-slab near the temple of Chhinna-mastikā Devī in Lalitapattana (situated one-and-a-half miles east of Kāṭmāṇḍu). Characters resemble closely, with slight changes, here and there, those of Aṁśuvarman's time. Language Sanskrit prose, with slight poetry in lines 2 and 3].

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[23] *Op. Cit.*, p. 180, fn. 3 and Table, p. 189.

[24] *Le Népal*—t. 1, p. 282.

It is the promulgation of a stone-slab edict (*śilā-paṭṭaka-śāsanaṁ* as described in the inscription itself) issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana by Jishṇugupta, who was *Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānugṛihīta* and *Bappa-pādānudhyāta*, addressing the householders of some villages for whose benefit a *tilamaka*[25] (water-course) was formerly led by orders of *Bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja* Aṁśuvarman, but which was destroyed for want of repairs. Jishṇugupta made over this repair-work to a *sāmanta*, named Chandravarman. The second favour done by Jishṇugupta to these villagers was the presentation of a few irrigable fields (*vāṭikā*). Out of the collective income (*piṇḍaṁ*) from those fields the future repair-work of the water-course was to be done. None would be permitted to lead this water-course elsewhere. *The dūtaka was Yuvarāja Vishṇugupta.* There is an important reference to the name of the illustrious lord and great king (*Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja*) Śrī-Dhruvadeva in the first two damaged lines of the inscription, where Fleet finds the two letters *Māna* visible. In all probability these two letters formed the first component of the compound-word *Mānagṛiha* which, as we think, continued to remain the royal residence of the Lichchhavi rulers, one of whom was this *Dhruvadeva*, whose lord-paramountcy was acknowledged by Jishṇugupta. In this epigraph Jishṇugupta is described as "desirous of the welfare of his subjects, and one of pure conduct, whose orders were obeyed by all citizens and whose kingly prosperity has been got from a pure lineage" (*samasta-pau[rāśri]ta-śāsanaḥ*, and *puṇy = ānvayād = āgata-rājya-sampat*). These epithets as applied to him seem to be very important in this way that Jishṇugupta probably had no lineal connection with Aṁśuvarman but succeeded to his rank at Kailāsakūṭabhavana whereform he ruled all the people of the city. Kailāsakūṭabhavana now began to rise into greater prominence, Mānagṛiha gradually losing its former glory and importance and becoming non-existent within the next few years. The record is of the *Svayamājñā* type issued on Śukla-kārtika 2, in 48 saṁvat.

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[25] Bhagwanlal Indraji regards this un-Sanskrit word to mean some kind of water-course. He writes—"Probably it denotes a channel which leads the water from the hill-side over the fields which rise in terraces one above the other". *Vide I. A.*, Vol IX, p. 172, fn. 30.

35. Indraji No. 4, Gnoli XL—*An Inscription dated* [*Gupta-*] *saṁvat 335* (= *A.D. 654-55*).

[Be it noted first that the date of this inscription is not 535 as read by Bhagwanlal Indraji the symbol for 300 being clear and correct. See also Gnoli's Plate no. XLI. Incised on a stone-slab, Lagantol, Kāṭmāṇḍu. Characters belong to Northern type of script used in the 7th century

A.D. Language Sanskrit. Most of the parts illegible owing to letters being effaced].

It records a grant of a piece of land. The king's name is not found in the legible portions. Only the portions containing the text about the king's warning to the future interferers with the donees is preserved. The *dūtaka* was the Rājaputra Vikramasena. In our opinion this epigraph probably belonged to the time of either Śivadeva or his son Dhruvadeva.

36. Gnoli LI—*Stone-slab inscription at Māltār west of the village Balambū in Thānkot district, Dated (Harsha) saṁvat 49 (=A.D. 655).*

It is a record of a land-grant by Bhagavat-Paśupati-bhaṭṭaraka-pādānugṛihīta Bappa-pādundhyāta Śri-Jishṇugupta who issues it from Kailāsakūṭabhavana under the suzerainty of Lichchhavikulaketu Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Srī-Dhruvadeva of Mānagṛiha. The dūtaka was Yuvarāja Vishṇugupta in the saṁvat 49 (=A.D. 655.).

37. Indraji No. 10, Gnoli LII—*An undated (mutilated) Inscription of Jishṇugupta (belonging to Dhruvadeva's reign).*

[Incised on a black stone-slab near a temple of Vishṇu, called Mīna-Nārāyaṇa, near southern gate of Kāṭmāṇḍu. Characters same as in the preceding inscription. Language Sanskrit. The date is missing in the last worn-out lines.]

This record is an edict of *Bhagavat-Paśupati-*

Bhaṭṭārakapādānugṛihīta and *Bappa-pādānudhyāta* Jishṇugupta, issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana probably to the Pañchālikā named Gīṭā-Pañchālikā of the village of Dakshṇakolī. In the introductory portion of the edict Jishṇugupta is described as having acknowledged *Bhaṭṭāraka-rāja Dhruvadeva*, the banner of the Lichchhavi-kula, as his lord-paramount and engaged his mind in devising the means of freeing from calamity all the people headed by Dhruvadeva himself. The contents then refer to the leading of a *tilamaka* (water-course) by a former chief, a *māhasāmanta* (undoubtedly Aṁśuvarman, his name ending in *deva*, cf. No. 9) who attained good prospects by his knowledge of all political expedients etc. and who succeeded personally in quelling powerful enemies (*balavataḥ śatrūn=babhañja svayaṁ*), but who, having once commenced the digging of the water-course for the benefit of the people, could not probably finish the work. Hence the villagers were directed by the edict to complete the work (*upaśaṁhartavya*) by paying one-tenth of their *piṇḍaka* revenue (*piṇḍaka - daśabhāgam - pratyākalayya*). The edict further gives instructions to them for the worship of the deity (whose name appears to end in.... *leśvara-svāmin*) and the timely repair of the *tilamaka*, and then it ends in warning his own officers never to interfere in this holy right (*puṇyādhikāra*) and settlement (*vyavasthā*).

38. Gnoli LIII—*Stone-slab inscription in the temple of Ādīśvara near Kāṭmāṇḍu. Top decorated with a reclining bull. Date illegible.*

It is a record of the establishment of a shrine for the deity named *Nātheśvara by Rājaputra-Nanda-varman* for the perpetual happiness in heaven of his father, *Rājaputra Jishṇuvarman*, of his mother *Vatsadevī* and of his brothers *Bhīmavarman* and others during the reign of *Paśupatibhaṭṭāraka-pādānugrihīta Bappapādanudhyāta* King Jishṇugupta who issued a charter to this effect from Kailāsakūṭabhavana. The acknowledgement of the suzerainty of Lichchhavi-kulālaṅkārabhūta Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Śrī-Dhruva-devī of Mānagṛiha is mentioned in it.

39. Gnoli LIV—*Stone-slab inscription near the village of Kevalpur in West No. 1. Top decorated with a reclining bull. Date and some words in line 23 are lost.*

This is also a record of a renewal, of a grant made by previous kings, by the same king *Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānugrihīta Bappa-pādanudhyāta* Śrī Jishṇugupta who issued his order from Kailāsa-kūṭa-bhavana for the preservation of the worship of the deity Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa-svāmin. Herein also the suzerainty of Lichchhavi-kulaketu Bhaṭṭā-raka-mahārāja Śri-Dhruvadeva of Mānagṛiha is acknowledged. This inscription is very important because of the mention by Jishṇugupta of the former royal personages, pūrvarājas who were donors by issuing Śilāpaṭṭaka-śāsanas (stone-slab epigraphs), namely, Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājas Vasurāja, Mahīdeva, Mānadeva and Gaṇadeva (certainly of the Lichchhavi lineage). He also mentions the name of his own grand-father as *Bhūmagupta*.

34. Gnoli LV—*Stone-slab inscription situated on right bank of streamlet Indramatī near ruins of sanctuary of Mahā-Lakshmī-pīṭha, to the north of village Balambu. Date* (*Harsha*) *saṁvat 55* (*=A.D. 661*).

This is a religious grant to the grāmapañchālikā of a village regarding a water conduit made by *Bhagavat-Paśupati-bhaṭṭārakapādānugṛihīta Bappapādānudhyāta Śrī-Jishṇugupta*. It was issued from the Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āśvayuja in the saṁvat 55 (=A.D. 671 in our opinion). The grantor king acknowledges the suzerainty of Lichchhavi-kulaketu Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Śrī *Bhīmārjunadeva* of Mānagṛiha.

35. Sylvain Lévi XVI, Gnoli LVI—*The Thankot Inscription of Jishṇugupta, dated saṁvat* 59 (*=A.D. 665*).

This is an address issued from the Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana palace by Jishṇguptadeva (described with the usual epithets of *Bhagavat-Paśupatibhaṭṭāraka-pādānugṛihīta* and *Bappa-pādānuddhyāta*) styled "the ornament of the Soma lineage" (*Somānvayabhūshaṇa*) to the head of families in the village of Kāchaṇṇasta on the decision of certain partial remission of the people's dues. A *śilāpaṭṭa-śāsana* to this effect was ordered so that it may long endure (*dūratarakāla-sthitaye*). There is a reference to a pond excavated by *the great-grand-father of Jishṇugupta, who is named Mānagupta-gomin*. The *dūtaka* here was *Yuvarāja* Vishṇugupta. The date in *saṁvat* read by Sylvain Lévi as 500 (?) is not correct. The most peculiar reference in this record is the mention of *Bhaṭṭāraka* Bhīmārjunadeva (in ll. 5-6) who is described as "the banner of the family occupying the throne" Mānagṛiha [*Mānagṛihāt siṅghā* (*ṁhā*) *san = ādhyāsi-kulaketu-bhaṭṭāraka Śrī-Bhīmārjunadevas = tatpurassaraḥ*]. It seems quite reasonable to think that when Jishṇugupta was ruling from Kailāsakūṭabhavana there was a king named Bhīmārjunadeva (of the Lichchhavi dynasty) who was only occupying the old palace at Mānagṛiha. But his overlordship was acknowledged by Jishṇugupta.

36. Gnoli LVII—*Stone-slab inscription at a place called Māligāon, Kāṭmāṇḍu. Top indicates decoration by a chakra and two śaṅkhas. Date* (*Harsha*) *saṁvat 59* (*=A.D. 665*).

The promulgator king's name is missing in the worn-out portion of the record issued from Kailāsa-kūṭa-bhavana. Most probably it was either King Jishṇugupta or King Vishṇugupta who issued this peculiar charter barring succession to the sons of a lady who takes to a second husband whom she loves by discarding out of hatred her first husband, The king has recorded that this charter of his is quite in accord with the custom approved by many a past king. The dūtaka is named yuvarāja Śrīdharagupta. The date was the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna of the saṁvat 59 (= A.D. 665).

37. Gnoli LVIII—*Stone-slab inscription, in the water-conduit in Lagon Tole, Kāṭmāṇḍu. Top decorated with chakra and two Śaṅkhas. Date missing.*

It records an order to the people residing in the village named *Dakshiṇakolīgrāma* about a land-grant, issued by king *Jishṇugupta* who has the epithets Paśupāti - bhaṭṭāraka - pādānugṛihīta and Bappapādānudhyāta. This King's overlord is mentioned as Lichchhavikulatilaka bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Śrī *Bhīmārjunadeva* of Māṇagṛiha palace.

38. Indraji No. 11, Gnoli LIX—*An undated (mutilated) Inscription of Jishṇugupta's reign.*

[Incised on a stone which supports a parasol over an image of Chaṇḍeśvara in the great temple of Paśupati. Characters same as in the preceding inscription. Language Sanskrit].

This inscription forms a record of certain grants of land of the Pāśupata congregation called *Muṇḍaśṛiṅkhalika-Pāśupatāchāryya-parshad* made by one Āchāryya-Bhagavat Pranarddana-Prāṇakauśika, for the provision of repair-work in the temple of Chhatra-Chaṇḍeśvara and a conduit in a village, during the augmenting victorious reign (*pravardhamāua-vijayarājye*) of Jishṇugupta.

39. Gnoli LX—*A small undated inscription (of one verse only) on the pedestal of an image of Kāmadeva in a corner of the quadrangle of Paśupati.*

It appears that the image was dedicated by one ācārya Bhagavat Pranardana during the *reign of Jishṇugupta.*

40. Gnoli LXI—*Stone-slab inscription in the water-conduit at Lagan Tole, Kāṭmāṇḍu. Top decorated with a chakra and two śaṅkhas. Date (Harsha) saṁvat 64 (=A.D. 670).*

This record was issued by Bhagavat-Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānugṛihīta Bappa-pādānudhyāta Śri *Vishṇugupta* from Kailāsa-kūṭabhavana palace. His suzerain monarch is named as Lichchhavikulaketu Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Śrī Bhīmārjunadeva of the ancient Mānagṛiha residence. *The word Nepāla is mentioned first by its name in this record (in the word Nepāla-bhūbhujaḥ, line 9).* Its future kings also are the addressees in this record, which relates the story of making from a huge stone the image of Vishṇu lying for rest on the waters (jala-śayana-rūpa). The ruler Vishṇugupta directs the residents of the village, Dakshiṇakolī to abide by his directions with respect to the enjoyment of their properties which may be snatched away from them by the ruler in case of perpetration by them of heinous crimes and he may even bar their use by their successors. He will never tolerate the breach of his order. It is dated in saṁvat 64 (= A.D. 670

in our opinion), the day being the 2nd of the bright fortnight of Phālguna. The dūtaka is *yuvarāja-Śrī-Dharagupta.*

41. Gnoli LXII—*Stone-slab inscription near western gate of the temple of Bhṛiṅgāreśvara at Sonāguṭhī. Top decorated with floral motif. Date (Harsha) saṁvat 65 (=A.D. 671).*

This record mentions both mahārāja *Bhīmārjunadeva* and *Vishṇugupta* with the same epithets as in the preceding inscription (LXI). The word *Nepālabhūbhujo* is also mentioned here. *Vishṇugupta* is the grantor of the land to the grāma-pāñchālika of village Nṛiṅmarigrāma. The epigraph appears to be of the same type as in the preceding one. The saṁvat is 65 (=A.D. 671), the day being the 2nd of the bright fortnight of Phālguna. The dūtaka here also is the same *yuvarāja-Srī-Dharagupta.*

42. Gnoli LXIII—*Stone-slab inscription in the vicinity of Śaṅkata at Te Bahāl. Undated record. According to Gnoli the characters belong to the period of Aṁśuvarman and Narendradeva.*

A Buddhist (Śākya) *yati* named Priyapāla dedicated for the good of all beings and the bliss of his parents a well (*kūpa*) and a pipe of water (*jaladravaṇika*).

43. Gnoli LXIV—*Water-conduit slab inscription at Karuṇā chok in Yampi Bahi, Patan. Undated.*

The one-line epigraph mentions only of a *vihāra*

(Buddhist monastery) as dedicated by Mahā-pratihāra—Vārtta-Sujāta-prabhu.

44. Gnoli LXV—*Inscription on the pedestal of a Liṅga, Deopatan, near Paśupati temple. Date* (*Harsha-*) *saṁvat 69* (=*A.D. 675*).

It is an inscription belonging to the reign of Parama-bhaṭṭāraka *Narendradeva.* It is an address of the king to the people of Chuhuṅ-grāma about a land-grant. The day is the 7th of the dark fortnight of Jaishṭha of the saṁvat 69.

45. Gnoli LXVI—*Inscription on stone-slab situated in the water conduit of Yengā Hiti, Logan Tole, Kāṭmāṇḍu.* One *chakra* and two *śaṅkhas* are on the top of the slab. Date (Harsha=) saṁvat 69 (=*A.D. 675*).

Narendradeva is here described as *Bhagavat-Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka-pādānugṛihīta Bappa-pādānudhyāta* and *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja.* A single verse[25a] in *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* metre describes this king as one who greatly adorned his valour by his political qualities, his own self by brilliant attributes, his strength of arms by power, his intellect by extensive knowledge of the *śāstras*, his limits of propriety by orderly discipline, the different quarters by his fame, the lands by the glory of his rule, and the Lichchhavi lineage by his birth. He is addressing herein from *Kailāsa-kūṭabhavana* the future Nepāla kings (*bhavishyato Nepāla-rājñaḥ*) about the Dakshiṇakoligrāmadraṅga stating that it was dedicated to the shrine of Bhuvaneśvara probably by the ancient *King Māneśvara* (*Mānadeva ?*) and that for certain unknown reasons *King Bhūmagupta* later appropriated the area under his regal regime. But now the king (Narendradeva) re-granted the same to the shrine out of respect to the old grant made earlier. This grant is of the *samājñāpana* type and is incised on stone. The dūtaka of the grant is named *Kumārāmālya Priyajīva*. It is dated the 2nd day of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapāda in saṁvat 69.

[25a] The verse runs thus (lines 2-4) :—

शौर्य्यं नीतिगुणैर्गुणैरकलितैरात्मानमुद्भासिभि:
शक्त्या बाहुबलं मतिं स्मृतिमतीं शास्त्रागमैर्भूरिभि: ।
मर्य्यादा: स्थितिभिर्दिशोपि यशसा राज्यश्रिया मेदिनी-
र्जात्या लिच्छविराजवंशमनघं योलंकरोत्युग्रकै: ॥

46. Gnoli LXVII—*A stone-slab insription in the quadrangle of Luṃ Jhyā, Maṅgal Bazar, Pātan.* One *chakra* and two *śaṅkhas* on the top of the stone, (Harsha-) saṁvat 69 = *A.D. 675.*

The same king with the same qualifying titles (i.e. *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Narendradeva*) of the Lichchhavi lineage (as in the previous inscription LXVI) issued this document on stone (*śilāpaṭṭaśāsana*) for granting land in Yūpagrāmadraṅga by revision of a previous settlement. The dūtaka *Kumārāmātyo Priyajīva* and the saṁvat (69) are also the same. Only the day of the document is the fifth of the

(Buddhist monastery) as dedicated by Mahā-pratihāra—Vārtta-Sujāta-prabhu.

44. Gnoli LXV—*Inscription on the pedestal of a Liṅga, Deopatan, near Paśupati temple. Date (Harsha-) saṁvat 69 (=A.D. 675).*

It is an inscription belonging to the reign of Parama-bhaṭṭāraka *Narendradeva.* It is an address of the king to the people of Chuhuṅ-grāma about a land-grant. The day is the 7th of the dark fortnight of Jaishṭha of the saṁvat 69.

45. Gnoli LXVI—*Inscription on stone-slab situated in the water conduit of Yengā Hiti, Logan Tole, Kāṭmāṇḍu.* One *chakra* and two *śaṅkhas* are on the top of the slab. Date (Harsha=) saṁvat 69 (=*A.D. 675*).

Narendradeva is here described as *Bhagavat-Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka-pādānugṛihīta Bappa-pādānudhyāta* and *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja.* A single verse[25a] in *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* metre describes this king as one who greatly adorned his valour by his political qualities, his own self by brilliant attributes, his strength of arms by power, his intellect by extensive knowledge of the *śāstras,* his limits of propriety by orderly discipline, the different quarters by his fame, the lands by the glory of his rule, and the Lichchhavi lineage by his birth. He is addressing herein from *Kailāsa-kūṭabhavana* the future Nepāla kings (*bhavishyato Nepāla-rājñaḥ*) about the Dakshiṇakoligrāmadraṅga stating that it was dedicated to the shrine of Bhuvaneśvara probably by the ancient *King Māneśvara* (*Mānadeva ?*) and that for certain unknown reasons *King Bhūmagupta* later appropriated the area under his regal regime. But now the king (Narendradeva) re-granted the same to the shrine out of respect to the old grant made earlier. This grant is of the *samājñāpana* type and is incised on stone. The dūtaka of the grant is named *Kumārāmālya Priyajīva*. It is dated the 2nd day of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapāda in saṁvat 69.

[25a] The verse runs thus (lines 2-4) :—

शौर्य्य न् नीतिगुणैर्गुणैरकलितैरात्मानमुद्भासिभिः
शक्त्या बाहुबलं मतिं स्मृतिमतीं शास्त्रागमैर्भूरिभिः ।
मर्य्यादाः स्थितिभिर्दिशोपि यशसा राज्यश्रिया मेदिनी-
जांत्या लिच्छ विराजवंशमनघं योलंकरोदुच्चकैः ॥

46. Gnoli LXVII—*A stone-slab insription in the quadrangle of Luṃ Jhyā, Maṅgal Bazar, Pātan.* One *chakra* and two *śaṅkhas* on the top of the stone, (Harsha-) saṁvat 69=*A.D. 675.*

The same king with the same qualifying titles (i.e. *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Narendradeva*) of the Lichchhavi lineage (as in the previous inscription LXVI) issued this document on stone (*śilāpaṭṭaśāsana*) for granting land in Yūpagrāmadraṅga by revision of a previous settlement. The dūtaka *Kumārāmātyo Priyajīva* and the saṁvat (69) are also the same. Only the day of the document is the fifth of the bright half of Pausha. The epigraph was also issued from Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana.

47. Gnoli LXVIII—*A stone-slab inscription, near the temple of Nārāyaṇa in Deo-Patan.* One *chakra* only on the top. Dated (Harsha-) saṁvat 71 (= *A.D. 677*).

The same king Narendradeva with all the titles as in the two previous inscriptions issues the grant in Navagṛiha village on the 2nd day of the bright half of Kārtika month in saṁvat 71. The name of one Madhusūdana, probably a member of the Pañchālika is mentioned in it. The dūtaka of the grant is *daṇḍanāyaka* Nṛipadeva. Most probably this charter is also issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana occurring in the worn-out portions in ll. 1-10.

48. Gnoli LXIX—*Water conduit slab inscription before the temple of Bhagavatī Bahāl, dated* (*Harsha-*) *saṁvat 78* (= *A. D. 684*).

While Narendradeva-nṛipati was the sovereign (*pṛithvīṃ pāti*), one Vishṇudeva dedicated a well with machine for drawing water by all people, on the 9th day of the bright half of Kārtika month in saṁvat 78.

49. Gnoli LXXI—*Stone-slab inscription in the temple of Vaṭuka Bhairava near Patan.* Top adorned by a relief of the *dharmachakra* flanked by two deer. Date (Harsha-) saṁvat 89 (= *A. D. 695*).

This seems to be a Buddhist inscription in a mutilated condition. The dūtaka's name only is available in line 20 as being *Rājaputra-Janārdana-varmā*. The day of the saṁvat 89 is the 13th day of a paksha of which the name is illegible. In all probability the epigraph belongs to the reign of King Narendradeva.

50. Gnoli LXXII—*Stone-slab inscription in a temple of Gaṇeśa at Cyāsal Tole, Pātan.* Top decorated by a reclining bull. (Harsha) saṁvat 95 (= A.D. 701).

There is mention of the residential palace of the king as *Bhadrādhivāsa-bhavana* in line 1. The king's name is missing in the worn-out portion of the slab. The Dūtaka's name is Śrī Yuvarāja Śauryadeva. The date is the 10th day of the bright half of the month of Pausha in saṁvat 95. In all likelihood the king's name was *Narendradeva.*

51. Bendall No. III, Gnoli LXX—*An Inscription (of Lichchhavi Narendradeva's), dated [Harsha-] saṁvat 82 (= A.D. 688).*

This charter[26] was issued from Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana, during the reign of Narendradeva (lines 4-8 of the inscription being mutilated). It records the provision for the deity named Vajreśvara and some other religious purposes. Bhaṭṭāraka *Yuvarāja*, Skandadeva, acted at the *dūtaka* in this transaction.

52. Indraji No. 13, Gnoli LXXIII—*A mutilated Inscription of Narendradeva, dated [Harsha-] saṁvat 103 (= A.D. 709).*

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[26] Bendall, *Journey in Nepal*, pp. 77 ff and plate X.

[Incised on a stone outside the southern gate of the enclosure of the temple of Paśupati. Characters agree closely with those used in the preceding inscriptions of the first half of the eighth century A.D. Language Sanskrit. The reading of the date (103 *saṁvat*=A.D. 709) seemed doubtful even to Bhagwanlal. The day of the prasāda (grant) was the 13th of the bright prasāda half of Jaishṭha],

It records the grant of a village made by *Parama-māheśvara, Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Narendradeva to the fraternity of Buddhist monks residing in the Śivadeva-*vihāra* (monastery founded by Śivadeva). The king directs that this grant of an agrahāra should not be violated by his subjects who should obey this Ārya-saṅgha in respect of all matters relating to it. It is a voluntary command or direct order (*svayam=ājñā*) *of the king* and *Bhaṭṭāraka Śivadeva was the dūtaka*. The name of the place of issue of the charter is Bhadrādhivāsa-bhavana.

53. Sylvain Lévi XX, Gnoli LXXIV—*The Yag Bahal Inscription of Narendradeva* (*date broken away and lost*).

This record is almost exactly similar in form to the inscription No. 13 (Indraji) of the same king, Narendradeva. This epigraph was issued by *parama-Māheśvara - paramabhaṭṭāraka - mahārājādhirāja* Narendradeva (using the other usual epithets, *Bhagavat-Paśupati - bhaṭṭāraka - pādānugṛhīta, Bappa-*

pādānudhyāta, Lichchhavikulaketu) from the residence, named herein as Bhadrādhivāsabhavana (as also in No. 13). It is an address to the villagers etc. of the village of Gullataṅgagrāma about the grant made to the fraternity of Buddhist monks coming from all directions and residing in the Śivadeva-vihāra. The special privileges of the donees are mentioned in detail. There is an allusion to Mānadeva-vihāra and other monasteries in it. The part of the name (the element Śiva) of the king is lost in the epigraph.

54. Gnoli LXXV—*A fragmentary undated inscription relating to a grant* (*deya-dharma*) to a (*mahā* ?-) *sāṁghika-bhikshusaṁgha*.

55. Gnoli LXXVI—*Stone-slab inscription near the sanctuary of Mahā-Lakshmī-pīṭha*, north of village *Balambū. Date* (*Harsha-*) *saṁvat 109* (= *A.D. 715*).

This inscription was issued from Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana by Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śivadeva (II) of the ancient Lichchhavi race. The name Nepāla is also mentioned here. It is a grant of land in honour of Paśupatibhaṭṭāraka. This is also a *svayam=ājñā* document of the king. The dūtaka was Jayadevabhaṭṭāraka. The day was the 5th (of a fortnight whose name is lost) in saṁvat 109.

56. Indraji No. 12, Gnoli LXXVII—*An Inscription of Śivadeva II* [*Harsha-*] *saṁvat 119* (= *A.D. 725*).

[Incised on a black stone-slab now situated in a modern Vishṇu temple in Lagantole, Kāṭmāṇḍu. A carved relievo representing a reclining bull adorns the top. Character almost the same as those in the preceding and the following inscriptions].

This inscription records the permanent grant, according to *bhūmichchhidranyāya*, of a village (Vaidyagrāma) as an *agrahāra* made for the increase of religious merit of his parents and of himself by *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja* Śivadeva II, who was favoured by the feet of Lord Paśupati Bhaṭṭāraka and who meditated on the feet of (his) Bappa (father), to the congregation of the Pāśupatas named Vasu-Pāśupatāchāryyas for the sake of the deity, Śrī-Śivadeveśvara, dedicated by himself, for making provision of repair of his temple (*tad-devakula - khaṇḍa - sphuṭita-saṁskāra - karaṇāya*). The king commands from Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana the headmen of the village and its householders to pay henceforward all kinds of taxes and other royal dues to this congregation whom they should obey in respect of all work they have to perform. The only condition regarding this granted village shall have to discharge an annual obligation for a supply to the tradesmen (*vyavasāyins*, translated as "authorities" by Bhagwanlal) of five porters (*bhārika-jana*) for the Bhoṭṭa[27] transport service (*Bhoṭṭavishṭi-hetoḥ*). The dūtaka in this transaction was Rājaputra Jayadeva. The date is the 10th day of bright half of Phālguna of saṁvat 119.

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[27] *Cf.* the passage in M. Sylvain Lévi's *Le Nepal*, t. 1, p. 280 where he writes :—"Enfin le village est ten u a la prestation annuelle de certaines corvees, par exemple, it doit fournirdes porteurs pour le transport au Tibet (Bhoṭṭa-viṣṭi)."

57. Gnoli LXXVIII—*Stone-slab inscription in the temple of Bhṛiṅgāreśvara in the village Sonāguthī (Harsha-) saṁvat 125 (=A.D. 731).*

This epigraph records a grant in which Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhirāja Śivadeva (II) addresses the *pañcālikas* along with the Brahmaṇas (of the village granted) for the permanence of the temple of the deity Bhṛiṅgāreśvara. The record was issued from Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana. The dūtaka was Rājaputra Jayadeva. The date is simply mentioned as Bhādrapāda-Śukla in saṁvat 125 (of Harsha era in our opinion).

58. Sylvain Lévi, XIXL Gnoli XXXII—*The Inscription of Śivadeva II (?), (date in year lost).*

This is a fragmentary inscription which contains a donation (*prasāda*) arranged, in all probability, by Śivadeva II. As in the other inscription (Indraji No. 12, dated saṁvat 119 i.e. A.D. 725) of this king, there is reference to *vishṭimanushya-sambandha* ("rapport aux hommes de la corvee") and to *rājakulīyavyavasāyins*. This is also a direct order (*svayam=ājñā*) of the king. The dūtaka is Rājaputra Jayadeva. The date is the 6th day of dark fortnight of the month Āśvina, in the saṁvat [?] (number illegible).

59. Sylvain Lévi XVIII, Gnoli LXXIX—*The*

Chasal-tol Inscription of Jayadeva II (?), *dated* [*Harsha-*] *saṁvat 137* (=*A.D. 743*).

This is an address of the *svayam=ājñā* type (probably) issued by King Jayadeva II containing reference to certain donations (*prasāda*). It is a fragmentary inscription in which the names of several *goshṭhīs* occur in the portion referring to the boundaries of the grants. The dūtaka is *Bhaṭṭāraka* Vijayadeva (*Cf.* Indraji No. 14). The date of the inscription is dated the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyaishṭha in the saṁvat 137.

60. Indraji No. 14, Gnoli LXXX—*A mutilated Inscription of the time of Jayadeva II* (?), *dated* [*Harsha-*] *saṁvat 145* (=*A.D. 751*).

[Incised on a stone near a water-conduit in the neighbourhood of the temple Mañjughosha of Mīnanātha in Lalitapattan. Characters almost the same as those in the foregoing inscription].

The first part of this epigraph, recording the name of the place whence it was issued and that of the king who was the grantor, is broken away and lost. It was most probably a charter issued by Jayadeva II and we should regard the dūtaka, *Yuvarāja* Vijayadeva, as the former's son and not as a second son of Śivadeva II as thought by Fleet[28] who took the latter to have been the grantor; for, there can be but one *Yuvarāja* (heir-apparent) of a king. Nor do we feel inclined to endorse the view of Bhagwanlal[29] taking the *dūtaka* Vijayadeva, as a "vicarious" name of Jayadeva II, and the latter's father Śivadeva II, as the grantor.

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[28] *Op. Cit.*, Introduction, p. 183,

It appears from the contents of the epigraph, gathered so far, that there occurred some disturbance amongst the people regarding the use of a *tilamaka* (water-course) which was probably the gift of a *kumārī* (princess ?), and the king, with the purpose of preventing such disturbance by bad people in future, promulgates this order that in future the disturbers should be dealt with in the *rājakula*. The grantee was directed to see to the repair-work out of the income of the village. It was further ordered that the *tilamaka* should be used by the several *pañchālikās* after it had been divided into seven parts (*tilamakaś-cha saptadhā vibhajya paribhoktavyaḥ*). The date was the 3rd day of the bright half of Pauṣa of the saṁvat 145.

61. Gnoli LXXXV—*Stone-slab inscription placed in an old water-reservoir near the temple of Mañjughosha or Mīnanātha at Pātan.* A chakra and two śaṅkhas are at the top. Date missing. After line 13, the epigraph is worn away and illegible.

It bears only the name of *Mahārājādhirāja* Parameśvara Jayadeva (II).

62. Bendall IV—*An Inscription*[30] (*of the time of Jayadeva II ?*) ; *dated* [*Harsha-*] *saṁvat 151* (= *A.D. 757*).

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29. *Op. Cit.*, Vol. IX, p. 177.

30. Bendall—*Journey in Nepal*, pp. 79 ff and Plate XI.

This is not a formal charter of the usual type as in the preceding inscriptions, nor does it contain the name of any king. It is simply a record of a grant made to a Pañchaka or committee by a private individual in saṁvat 151.

63. Indraji No. 15 Gnoli LXXXI—*An Inscription of Jayadeva II, dated* [*Harsha-*] *saṁvat 159* (*=A.D. 765*), inscribed on a stone-slab, standing behind the bull or Nandin, opposite to the western door of the temple of Paśupati.

Śiva is described as the highest Being in verse 1 and Rāvaṇa and Bāṇāsura's worship of this god is referred to in the next verse. Verses 3-5 describe a few kings born to the sun-god (Sūrya), indicating that the kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty named in this inscription were Sūryavaṁśī kings. Manu, Ikshvāku, Kakutstha (Pṛithu), Vikukshi and Vishvagaśva, and (after an interval of a period for the rule of 28 kings not named in the inscription) Sagara, Asamañjasa, Aṁśumat, Dilīpa and Bhagīratha and (then again after a gap for the rule of a few other kings whose exact number could not be known owing to the portion of the stone containing it being broken away and lost) Raghu, Aja and Daśaratha are mentioned. Then after an interval during which eight other rulers reigned in succession, was born in this family the illustrious Lichchhavi (*Śrīmān = ābhūl = Lichchhaviḥ*). The eulogist then points out in verse 6 that a new great and famous race bearing the pure name of Lichchhavi exists even now (i.e. at the time of the composition of this document). Some kings (the portion of the stone containing their number being broken away and lost) had passed away after Lichchhavi and then was born a king at Pushpapura (Pāṭaliputra) whose name was Supushpa.

Then after an interval covering the reigns of 23 kings, another famous king named Jayadeva I arose (v. 7). Eleven other kings' reigns intervened and then was born the excellent king Vṛishadeva (v. 8) who was a follower of the Buddhist doctrine (*Sugata-śāsana-pakshapātī*). The next king was his son Śaṅkaradeva, after whom Dharmadeva succeeded to the throne. Then the latter's son Mānadeva became king. After this king reigned his son Mahīdeva (v. 9). The next verse (v. 10) describes Mahīdeva's son, King Vasantadeva, during whose reign wars with enemies came to a close (*śānt = āri = vigrahaḥ*) and who was glorified by the vassal (*sāmanta*) chiefs subdued by him (*dānta-sāmanta-vanditaḥ*). We feel inclined to take the controversial reading of the next verse[30a] (v. 11) to mean that after king Vasantadeva there was an interval during which eleven kings ruled and then came to the throne

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[30a] Gnoli's reading of the verse (11) is :—

अस्यान्तरेपुदयदेव इति क्षितिशाज्जातस्त्रयोदश इतश्च नरेन्द्रदेवः ।
मानोन्नतो नतसमस्तनरेन्द्रमौलिमालारजोनिकरपांशुल पादपीठः ॥

N.B. अस्य and इतः in this verse refer to Vasantadeva.

Udayadeva, the twelfth king, who had as his son king Narendradeva, the thirteenth in the list after Vasantadeva.

King Narendradeva is described as having his foot-stool covered with the dust from the row of diadems worn by numerous prostrated kings. The next two verses are significant for the important historical information they contain. From them we learn that to Narendradeva was born his son, the lord of the earth, named Śivadeva II, who was rich and charitable and "who conquered his foes, protected his people, removed the distress of the good, delighted his relatives and always spoke the truth" (v. 12). The king married (v. 13) the illustrious Vatsadevī,[31] who was the daughter of King Bhogavarman, the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the Maukhari dynasty, so rich in strength of arms and was the grand-daughter i.e. daughter's daughter of the great Ādityasena, King of Magadha. The next verse (v. 14) describes Jayadeva (II) as the son of King Śivadeva II born of his queen Vatsadevī and states that he was a king who could never be vanquished by his enemies (*ajayyaḥ paraiḥ*). Of his personal accomplishments and virtues, the court-poet describes him as liberal, self-respecting, far-seeing, polite, learned, helpful to the virtuous and strong. He married the princess Rājyamatī,[32] who was the daughter of King Harsha, the lord of Gauḍa, Uḍra and other countries and also of Kaliṅga and Kośala, who "crushed the heads of his hostile kings with the club-like tusks of his rutting elephants". Being spoken of as a noble descendant of Bhagadatta's royal line, Rājyamatī must have been a princess of the Kāmarūpa dynasty. The next verse (v. 16) is very important as it shows clearly the greatness[33] of Jayadeva II whose extensive political influence was felt not only by the neighbouring countries of Aṅga in the south-east and Kāmarūpa in the east, but also by the distant places, Kāñchī in the far south and Surāshṭra in the south-west, and thus the king has been rightly described as having displayed the career of a *sārvva-bhauma* king (lord-paramount). It may be noted here that both Bhagwanlal and Fleet missed these historical references in the words, used as proper names viz. Aṅga, Kāmarūpa, Kāñchī and Surāshṭra, garbed in the rhetorical figure *ślesha* (*doubleentendre*) in the verse. The puns disclose the meaning that the king was endowed with the fortune of Aṅga (*Aṅga-śriyā-parigataḥ*) ; he conquered Kāmarūpa (*jita-Kāmarūpaḥ*) ; he was attended to by the accomplished women of Kāñchī (*Kāñchī-guṇ=āḍhya-vanitā-bhir=upāsyamānaḥ*) and he applied his mind even to the work of administration in Surāshṭra (*kurvvan=Surāshṭra-paripālana-kāryya-chintāṁ*). That Jayadeva II's political influence reached these distant countries is also evident from the description (in v. 17) of the king as having been known, on account of his prowess, by the second name

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[31] *Cf.* verse 13—"देवी बाहुबलाढ्य-मौखरिकुल-श्रीवर्म्मचूडामणि-
ख्यातिक्षेपित-वैरिभूपतिगण-श्रीभोगवर्म्मोद्भवा ।
दौहित्री मगधाधिपस्य महतः आदित्यसेनस्य या
व्यूढा श्रीरिव तेन सा क्षितिभुजा श्रीवत्सदेव्यादरात् ॥

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[32] *Cf*. verse 14—"माद्यद्दन्ति-समूह-दन्त-मुसल-क्षुण्णारि-भूभृच्छिरो-
गौडौड्रादिकलिङ्ग-कोशलपति-श्रीहर्षदेवात्मजा ।
देवी राज्यमती कुलोचितगुणैर्युक्ता प्रभूताकुलै-
र्येनोढा भगदत्त-राजकुलजा लक्ष्मीरिव क्ष्माभुजा ॥

[33] *Cf*. verse 16—"अङ्गश्रिया परिगतो जितकामरूपः
काञ्चीगुणाढ्य-वनिताभिरुपास्यमानः ।
कुर्व्वन् सुराष्ट्र-परिपालन-कार्य्यचिन्तां
यः सार्व्वभौम-चरितं प्रकटीकरोति ॥

In fn. 1 p. 170 t. 2 of *Le Népal* M. Sylvain Lévi has mentioned the 'seconde interpretation possible' as follows :—

"Il est paré du diademe Bengale (it should be Aṅga) ; il a vaincu le Kāmarūpa (Assam) ; less belles délicieuses de Kāñcī (Conjeveram) le servent ; il set préoccupe d'assurer la protection du Surāstra (Kathiavar) ; toute sa conduite manifesto un empereur du monde".

In this connection the learned historian also quotes a verse, containing an analogous instance from "Le *Kāvyālaṁkāra* de Rudraṭa (X, 10 ; ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 134). :—

"आक्रम्य मध्यदेशं विदधत् संवाहनं तथाङ्गानाम् ।
पतति करः काञ्चयामपि तव निर्जितकामरूपस्य ॥"

The following verse from Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacharita* may also be compared here :—

"सुकलापायित-कुन्तल-रुचि-माविल-लाट-कान्तिमवनमदङ्ग[ा]म् ।
अधरित-कर्णाटेक्षणलील[ा] धृत-मध्यदेशतनिमानमपि ॥"

Also *Cf.* v. 8 of the Belava inscription (*E.I.*, Vol. XII, p. 40).

Parachakrakāma ("desiring to win the dominions of enemies"). He administered a kingdom from which the misfortunes of his people vanished by the sacrificial offerings of the Brāhmaṇas who received bounteous gifts from the monarch himself,—a kingdom which was also free from internal trouble (*kaṇṭaka-varjjitaṁ*) and which was so much strengthened by the support of his own arms. It is then stated in the *praśasti* that this king of great and pure lineage caused to be made a silver water-lily, the grandeur and beauty of which are graphically described in the next few verses, five of which (viz. vv. 20, 25, 27, 28 and 29) were of the king's own composition. This brilliant lotus was dedicated by King Jayadeva II's mother, the illustrious Vatsadevī to the deity Paśupati in the famous temple of that god in four-faced *liṅga* form. The religious merit accruing from this act of the son and his mother was assigned to the credit of the deceased king, Śivadeva II (vv 31-32). In v. 33 the poet of this eulogy names himself Buddhakīrtti and states that although his patron King Jayadeva, was himself a true poet, the latter composed only five verses in the honour of the silver lotus dedicated to the god and refrained from composing verses in eulogy of his own family which was left to be done by the poet-laureate. Therefore, out of devotion to his Majesty, the court-poet himself composed the rest of the *praśasti*. The last verse (v. 34) is a benedictory one in which Buddhakīrtti prays for the long life of the reigning sovereign, so anxious for the welfare and security of his subjects who, in their turn, were loyally devoted to the throne.

Names of several deities of the Hindu pantheon are found mentioned in portion of the inscription describing the silver-lotus, e.g., Brahmā, Shaṇmukha (*Kārttikeya*), Vāsuki, Sthāṇu, Śesha, Lakshmī etc. Names also occur in this portion, of the Demon Daśānana (Rāvaṇa) and perhaps of the Buddhist god, Lokeśvara.

We think the chronology of the Nepal rulers should be discussed at this stage. We only hinted above that there was a fundamental difference between Bhagwanlal and Fleet regarding the interpretation of the years (*saṁvats*) referred to in the Nepal inscriptions. They, however, rightly agreed to interpret the dates marked by the smaller figures 34, 39, 45 (?) 46, 48, 55, 59, 64, 65, 119, 153 and 172 as belonging to the Harsha era of A.D. 606. According to this view we are also to refer the smaller figures of the dates, viz. 30, 32 and 137 in Sylvain Lévi's additional collection (in Vol. III of his work *Le Népal*) to the same Harsha era. But as regards the larger figures viz. 318, 335 (not 535), 386, 413 and 435, the late Dr. Fleet expressed his opinion that they should all be referred to the Gupta era on the supposition that the date 318 (not 316 as he wrongly stated) *saṁvat* in Bendall No. 1 must refer to the Gupta era of A.D. 319-20, because it belongs to the reign of King Śivadeva I mentioned in it as a contemporary of Aṁśuvarman, whom he identified with the king of that name, said to have reigned in Nepal during, or shortly before, the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang's visit in Northern India in or about A.D. 637. So the larger figures of dates, viz. 387, 402, 449, 489, 500 (?), 519 and 520 in Sylvain Lévi's additional collection are, according to Fleet's view, to be referred to the Gupta era. But Fleet should not have based his calculation of all those larger dates on that solitary case of Bendall No. 1 and prepared his Table No. XI *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 189) containing the list of the early rulers of Nepal according to it. It is unfortunate also that he could not discover the wrong reading by Bhagwanlal of the date of our No. 4 above, which the pandit took to be 535 and not 335 which is the clearly correct reading according to our view, the symbol for 300 being so clear in the published text even in Gnoli's plate for No. XL inscription. The dūtaka Vikramasena of this grant may be identified with the same name in No. 6 dated Harsha-era 34 i.e. A.D. 640. So the date 335 of No. 4 is to be undoubtedly explained as having reference to the Gupta era and therefore equal to A.D. 654-55. It would be a preposterous date if the reading 535 be taken to be correct, for it would then equate with A.D 854-855 although to all appearances the characters belonged to the seventh century. It is very unfortunate again that a veteran palaeographist like the late Dr. Fleet[34] should have committed the blunder of referring all the larger dates in the early Nepal epigraphs to the Gupta era by overlooking the nature of their scripts belonging to different period of history and misled himself into thinking that the date of the characters used, for example, in Mānadeva's inscription No. 1, which must have belonged to the imperial Gupta period of the fourth century A.D., should be pushed forward, more than three centuries. It is time that this astounding error of this savant was rectified in the interest of the adjustment of the chronology of the early rulers of Nepal and scholars gave their best consideration to, and accepted, the view so cautiously and conclusively put forward, with the help of the materials in his hand at the time, by Bhagwanlal that the larger dates (in our opinion, to the exclusion of those in Bendall I and Indraji No. 5 and in Sylvain Lévi's Nos. XI-XII) belonged to the Vikrama era commencing from 57 B.C.. After a very careful comparison of the forms of the letters used in Mānadeva's inscription No. 1 with those used in the inscriptions of all the first three or four imperial Gupta emperors, especially the forms of letters *ṇa*, *ta*, *pa*,

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[34] Fleet, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 189.

bha, *ya*, *la*, *sa* and *ha*, we cannot but persuade ourselves to accept as true the view that the larger dates in the epigraphs of the early Nepal kings, upto at least the time of King Vasantadeva, should be referred to the Vikrama era. This view is also in keeping with the tradition current in Nepal that Vikramāditya (styled Vikramajit in Nepal) is said to have pushed his conquering arms into this mountainous country in the remote past and ruled it by introducing the *saṁvat* era there. Hence following Bhagwanlal and Bühler, Mr. C. V. Vaidya[35]also thinks that "there is not the least doubt that the Vikrama era has been in use in Nepal since a very long time." But the late Dr. Fleet[36] rejected totally the statement of the Nepal *Vaṁśāvalī* with regard to the visit of the traditional Vikramāditya to Nepal and his establishment of his era and thought that such a statement must only have been "a reminiscence of the conquest of the country by Harshavardhana of Kanauj and the adoption of the Harsha era as the result." We have no doubt that the smaller dates are to be referred to the Harsha era, as stated before, but the larger dates hitherto discovered upto Vasantadeva's time must be referred to the Vikrama era, if palaeography is to be relied upon. The dates in Mānadeva's inscriptions must be referred to this era and never, by any stretch of imagination, to the Gupta era as done by Fleet. Moreover, some of the political, social and religious thoughts and ideas prevailing in the Gupta period in Magadha and other North Eastern provinces are clearly found reflected in the early Nepal records of Mānadeva's time. This also supports the theory of their use of the early Vikrama-era. With due deference to the great French savant, M. Sylvain Lévi, we have to differ from his interpretation of the larger numerical figures of three digits (exceeding 200), representing the dates in the early Nepal inscriptions hitherto discovered. He refers them to a Lichchhavi era[37] (*saṁvat*) which commenced in his opinion in A.D. 110. So he adds 33 to the dates expressed in *saṁvat* in the Nepal records for equating them with the dates in the Śaka era (current) and then adds 78 for making them correspond to dates in Christian era. This result he obtains by an astronomical calculation[38] based on the date mentioned in No. 1 of Bhagwanlal and No. 1 of his own, viz. "the first day of the bright half of the month of Jyeshṭha of *Saṁvat* 386, while the moon was in the constellation Rohiṇī, in the excellent *muhūrta* called *abhijit*" and he arrives at the conclusion that such a combination of astronomical phenomena was only possible on Tuesday, the 1st May A.D. 496. Hence he starts a working hypothesis that the dates in *saṁvat* in the early Nepal inscriptions are to be referred to a Lichchhavi era, then in vogue, which had its starting point ("le point de départ") in the year A.D. 110. If this view of M. Sylvain Lévi be fully endorsed, we shall have to fall into great difficulty in solving the dates in two inscriptions, viz. his own Nos. IX (Dharampur) and XII (Khopasi), both of which bear the same date[39] viz. 520 (as read by the French savant). The numerical figure however for the hundreds in these two inscriptions seems to be clearly a representative for 300 and not 500; hence the date should be read as 320 *saṁvat*. The same mistake was committed, as we have shown above, by Bhagwanlal regarding the date of his No. 4 which must be 335 *saṁvat*, and not 535, as his reading showed. M. Sylvain Lévi himself also doubted the reading[40] of the symbol for hundreds, specially the element 5 of 500 which seemed to him as written in the manner of 3 ('én maniere du 3'). From Plates XII and XIII of his inscriptions Nos. XI and XII respectively it can be clearly seen that the figure in question should represent 300 and not 500, exactly as we see the same symbol in plates illustrating Bhagwanlal's Nos. 1 and 4. On account of effacement of certain portions in the plate of his No. IX we are not in a position to clearly read the symbols for the date which he reads as 510 (?), but Gnoli reads it 517; and as no plate is enclosed for the illustration of his No. X, of which the figures for the date are read by him as representing the number 519, we were at first unable to verify the same. It is, however, also read as 519 by Gnoli. We feel, however, inclined to state, that these two dates were also 317 and 319 *saṁvat*. At any rate, if we convert the *saṁvat* 320 (of Nos. XI-XII), which we take to be the corrrect date, to a date in Christian eaa in accordance with the hypothesis M. Sylvain Lévi, we arrive at a date (A.D. 465) which is an impossible date for both Śivadeva I and Aṁśuvarman who are, without doubt, rulers of the seventh century A.D. So we think that we should refer this date, 320 (*saṁvat*) to the Gupta era and think that it corresponds with the date A.D. 639-40 just as the late Fleet explained the date 318 in Bendall No. 1 and we have interpreted the date 235 in Bhagwanlal No. 4. There is thus a difference of nearly 174-75 years between our calculation and that of M. Sylvain Lévi regarding the interpretation of some of the larger dates in old Nepal records.

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[35] *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 368.

[36] Fleet, *Op. Cit.*, Introduction, pp. 184-85.

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[37] Vide *Le Nepal*, t. 3, p. 50.

[38] Cf. the passage :—"La date du pilier de Changu Narayan correspond dans cette hypothese an mardi ler mai 496 J.—C", *Le Nepal*, t. 3, p. 9.

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[39] *Le Nèpal*, t. 3, p. 59 and p. 80.

[40] *Le Nèpal*, t. 3, p. 68.

A correct adjustment of the chronology of the early kings of Nepal appears possible by adoption of a theory we venture to propound that three different eras were in vogue in Nepal in three different periods of her history. The group of kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty of the first period from Mānadeva to Vasantadeva used only the *Vikrama-saṁvat* in their records ; the second group of kings of the same dynasty from Śivadeva I to Udayadeva and the kings of the Ṭhākurī family and their successors, e.g. Aṁśuvarman, Jishṇugupta and Vishṇugupta, belonging to the middle period used respectively the *Gupta-saṁvat* and *Harsha-saṁvat*, simultaneously ; while the third group of the Lichchhavi kings from Narendradeva to Jayadeva II used only the *Harsha-saṁvat*.

In this connection a note may be added on the order of succession of some of the rulers of the Lichchhavi dynasty and their head-quarters. We mark two important intervals in the list of Nepal kings as obtained from the text of Inscription No. 15 of Jayadeva II, one of eleven unnamed kings after Jayadeva I and the other of another eleven unnamed kings after Vasantadeva. From a careful reading and interpretation of verse 11 of this inscription, it may be inferred that the twelfth king, after the eleventh one who reigned during the second interval referred to above, was King Udayadeva, and his son King Narendradeva was therefore the thirteenth. The reading[41] of the first two lines of this verse as proposed by Bhagwanlal does not seem to have been quite correct. From his own annexed plate[42] we clearly find that there is no *ākāra* sign after the word *jāta* which is used in the singular number and not in the plural. Gnoli also reads it as *jātas* in singular and he reads the next word as *itaścha*. According to our view the word *trayodaśa* is to be regarded not as a cardinal numeral (thirteen) but as an ordinal one (thirteenth). So there can be no question of an interval of thirteen unnamed kings in this record after Vasantadeva but that of only eleven kings, including the names of Śivadeva I and his son Dhruvadeva and also of Bhīmārjunadeva who were not mentioned by the court poet of Jayadeva II, probably because these kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty had lost their regal position as suzerains by allowing the king of the Ṭhākurī family to rule collaterally with them from a different residence, Kailāsakūṭabhavana, during a period of more than a quarter of a century. However, according to our interpretation of this controversial verse, Udayadeva was the twelfth king and the thirteenth after Vasantadeva was Narendradeva. So altogether we have a list of thirty-three kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty in inscription No. 15, the last of whom Jayadeva II ruled even in the year A.D. 765. We have now no difficulty in cramming 33 rulers from Jayadeva I to Jayadeva II, both inclusive, within a period of about 765 years. This furnishes us with a very reasonable average of 23 years for each reign. So Bhagwanlal was not probably wrong in assigning the rule of Jayadeva I (the first Lichchhavi conqueror of Nepal) to the beginning of the first century A.D. It is interesting to note that Gnoli's inscription No. LXXXIX discloses the name of another Śivadeva (to be called Śivadeva III) reigning in the [Harsha] saṁvat 172 (=A.D. 778).

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[41] His reading was :—"अस्यान्तरेप्युदयदेव इति क्षितीशा—
ज्जातस्त्रयोदश [इत]श्च नरेन्द्रदेवः ।"

[42] I. A., Vol. IX, p. 178.

It was Aṁśuvarman, the founder of the Ṭhākurī family of kings, who first established his royal residence at Kailāsakūṭabhavana from which he and his successors ruled in the western division as co-regents or collaterally, but who owed allegiance (it may be nominal) to the contemporary kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty ruling in the eastern division from the old residence called Mānagṛiha which, as remarked above, was probably named after King Mānadeva I. From the omission of the name of Mānagṛiha in inscription No. 15 of Jayadeva II and in other contemporary or somewhat earlier records it appears that the last three Lichchhavi rulers beginning with Narendradeva had removed their administrative headquarters to

Kailāsakūṭabhavana, which was probably the only royal residence during nearly the last century of the rule of that dynasty. The reign of the Ṭhākurī family extended only for three or four generations of kings. King Mānadeva,[43] who was in all probability a contemporary of the imperial Gupta emperor, Chandragupta I or his son Samudragupta, and also a few of Mānadeva's predecessors must have used the *Vikrama-saṁvat* in their epigraphs, as it was this era that was in vogue in many parts of India at that time. It seems quite probable that the descendants of Vasantadeva began to use, until the time of Harshavardhana's occupation of Nepal (if it was really a historical fact) or of his political influence in that country, the *Gupta-saṁvat* from the time when Samudragupta forced the Nepal king to pay allegiance to his lord-paramountcy as mentioned before and to accept the era introduced by his family from the beginning of his father Chandragupta I's reign (in A.D. 319-20).

With these few remarks on the question of the chronology of early Nepal kings and the order of their succession we insert below a table largely based on the one prepared by Bhagwanlal and Bühler, with some small corrections here and there in accordance with some interpretation of the controversial verse (v. 11) and calculation of the two intervals of eleven unnamed kings in Jayadeva II's inscription (No. 15).

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[43] *Cf.* the following passage from M. Sylvain Lévi's *Le Népal* t. 3, p. 3:—'C'est aux environs du ve siecle que la paléographie tendrait a ranger Mānadeva, comme avaient fait Bhagvanlal et Bühler qui interpretraient la date de l'inscription par l'ere vikrama (386 saṁvat—329 J. C.), a l'époque mene de Samudragupta "dont les édits sur piliers ressemblent totalement aux inscription de Mānadeva" '.

The Lichchhavi Kings of Nepal

(Also called Sūryavaṁśī kings in the Nepal *Vaṁśāvalī*)

1. Jayadeva I, about A.D. 1 [No. 15].

2-12. Names not mentioned in No. 15.

13. Vṛishadeva c. A.D. 260 [Nos. 1 and 15].

14. Śaṅkaradeva, son of 13, c. A.D. 285 [Nos. 1 and 15].

15. Dharmadeva, son of 14, married to Rājyavatī, c. A.D. 305 [Nos. 1 and 15].

16. Mānadeva I, son of 15, [Vikrama-] saṁvat 386-413 (=Gnoli III), (=A.D. 329-356) [Nos. 1 and 15 ; and S. Lévi II (=Gnoli III), Gnoli IV, V, VII, VIII, IX and X].

17. Mahīdeva, son of 16, c. A.D. 360.

18. Vasantadeva, or Vasantasena, son of 17, [Vikrama-] saṁvat 435 (=A.D. 378) and saṁvat 449 (=A.D. 392) [Nos. 3 and 15 ; and S. Lévi VI, Gnoli XIV].

19-26. Lineal descendants of 18 names not mentioned in No. 15. But out of these hitherto unknown names, we have now known of five new names, viz. (1) Rāmadeva (Gnoli XVII) saṁvat 469 (A.D. 412), (2) Gaṇadeva (Gnoli, XIX, XXI) saṁvat 489 (A.D. 432), (3) Mānadeva II, (4) Guṇakāmadeva (Regmi's *Ancient Nepal* pp. 69, 93), and (5) Vasurāja (Gnoli LIV).

27. Śivadeva I, c. A.D. 610. Sylvain Lévi IX-XII [Gupta-] saṁvat 310 (?), 319, 320, Bendall I [Gupta-] saṁvat 318 (A.D. = 637-38) [No. 5—but not mentioned in No. 15 ; vide also Gnoli XXVII, XXXI-XXXIII.]

Co-regent, Aṁśuvarman, first a *sāmanta*, then a *mahāsāmanta*, *mahārāja*, [Harsha]-saṁvat 30, 32, 34, 39, 45 (?) (=A.D. 640-651) [Nos. 6-8, Bendall II and S. Lévi XIII-XV ; vide also Gnoli XXVII-XXXI, XXXIII-XXXIX, XLI-XLIV, XLVIII].

28. Dhruvadeva (Harsha-) saṁvat 48 (= A.D. 654) [No. 9, but not mentioned in No. 15 ; Gnoli LI, LIII, LIV].

Co-regent, Jishṇugupta [Harsha-] saṁvat 46 (= A.D. 652). 55, 59, 64 (Gnoli LI, LIII, LIV) and 65. Harsha saṁvat in Gnoli LV, LVII, LXI and LXII. In LVII one yuvarāja Dhanagupta was dūtaka and he is mentioned as dūtaka in LXI and LXII. [Nos. 9-11 and S. Lévi XVI]. Harsha-saṁvat 49 (= A.D. 655).

N.B. Vikramasena, probably son of 28, not a reigning prince mentioned as *Rājaputra* in no. 4

of [Gupta-]-saṁvat 335 (=A.D. 654-55), and not 535 as wrongly read by Bhagwanlal.

Co-regents, Jishṇugupta and perhaps Vishṇugupta, mentioned as heir-apparent in No. 9 and in Gnoli LI. Vishṇugupta was co-regent (LXI-LXII, in H.E. 64 and H.E. 65 with suzerain Bhīmarjunadeva (Harsha-saṁvat 49 = A.D. 655).

A. N. B. Aṁśuvarman, mentioned in the Nepal *Vaṁśāvalī* as the founder of the Ṭhākurī dynasty, Kali 1000 = 101 B. C., was wrongly pushed back more than seven or eight centuries.|

B. N. B. Kings Nos. 32 and 33 respectively were mentioned as the 7th and 12th princes of the Ṭhākurī line. Probably this incorporation also is wrong in the *Vaṁśāvalī*.

No. 15 Jayadeva II's inscription is the central record though of the 8th century A.D. round which revolves to a very great extent the chronology of the early Nepal kings.

29. Bhīmārjunadeva (Gnoli LV, LVIII, LXI, LXII) was also suzerain for a few years of Jishṇugupta. This royal name is also new at present and is mentioned in Gnoli's LV (H.E. 55), LVIII, LXI (H. E. 64), and LXII (H.E. 65), the date in LVIII being missing. [Not mentioned in Indraji's No. 15.]

30. Udayadeva, c. A.D. 670 [No. 15] mentioned as heir-apparent in No. 7 [Harsha-] saṁvat 39 = A.D. 645, of course of the Lichchhavi king who was the suzerain even of Aṁśuvarman, the grantor.

31. Narendradeva [Harsha] saṁvat 69 (=A.D. 675) in Gnoli (LXV, LXVI, LXVII), 71

(Gnoli LXVIII), 78 (Gnoli LXIX), 89 (Gnoli LXXI, name missing in worn-out portion), 95 (Gnoli LXXII, his name missing in worn-out portion), 103 (=A.D. 709) in Indraji 13, also perhaps in Gnoli LXXIV.

32. Śivadeva II, son of 31, married to Vatsadevī daughter of Maukhari Bhogavarman, and daughter's daughter of Ādityasena of Magadha, [Harsha-] saṁvat 119-134 (=A.D. 725-740) [No. 12 and S. Lévi XIX-XX]. [Harsha-] saṁvat 109 (=A.D. 715) in Gnoli LXXVI, 125, in Gnoli LXXVIII.

33. Jayadeva II, *Parachakrakāma* son of 32, married to Rājyamatī, daughter of Śri-Harsha who was king of Gauḍa, Uḍra and other countries, Kaliṅga and Kosala, a female descendant of Bhagadatta undoubtedly of the Kāmarūpa dynasty, [Harsha-] saṁvat 159 (=A.D. 765) [Nos. 13-15 and S. Lévi XVIII)]. Gnoli in LXXXI reads the date saṁvat 159=A.D. 765. Date missing in Gnoli LXXXV.

The positive historical information about early Nepal kings, gathered from a study of the inscriptional details may be summarised here. The Lichchhavi kings of Nepal trace their descent from the sun-god and hence they are rightly described in the *Vaṁśāvalī* as *Sūryavaṁśī*. There were 33 rulers hitherto known beginning with Jayadeva I and ending in Jayadeva II, covering a period of at least 765 years with an average of 23 years for each reign. The last known date of Jayadeva II is Harsha-saṁvat 153 i. e. A.D. 759. Gnoli LXXXIX has the name of Śivadeva III (?) in saṁvat (172= A.D. 778). Hence Jayadeva I may be regarded as the first king who ruled Nepal sometime in the beginning of the Christian era and established the Nepal branch of the royal Lichchhavi dynasty.

After an interval of about two and a half centuries during which eleven unnamed rulers of the same dynasty reigned in Nepal, we come across the name of King Vṛishadeva, who was a Buddhist in faith and who being of a religious disposition did not trouble himself about political matters, although he possessed great valour and wealth. The *Vaṁśāvalī* also states that this king built monasteries (*vihāras*) and installed images of Lokeśvara and other Buddhist divinities. He was fortunate in having several learned and accomplished sons, one of whom, Śaṅkaradeva by name, succeeded him on the throne. The king had to measure strength in battle with his enemies (unknown by name), and was unconquerable. He carried on the administration of his prosperous kingdom with the help of his trusted officials. These two Nepal kings belonged probably to the period which is regarded by historians as one of the darkest in Indian history, namely that between the extinction of the Kushāṇa and Andhra dynasties in the first quarter of the third century A.D. and the rise of the imperial Gupta line in the fourth.

Next reigned Śaṅkaradeva's virtuous son King Dharmadeva, who inherited a vast kingdom. He made a fresh campaign of conquests and erected high "pillars of victory" on earth. His wife was the faithful queen Rājyavatī. We think he was probably a contemporary of Chandragupta I of the imperial Gupta dynasty and his father Ghaṭotkacha. This Dharmadeva was succeeded by his famous son Mānadeva, who was a very great monarch of Nepal. His mother, Queen Rājyavatī, wanted to immolate herself on the king's death, and announced her determination to her able son Mānadeva, whom she appointed to the hereditary kingship, but she was prevented from putting an end to her life by the importunity of her son. His inscription dated A.D. 329 (=V.E. 386) informs us that he gave his mother great delight by a promise to repay his father's debts by launching into military feats as befits the Kshatriyas. The king kept his promise and led an expedition to the east for crushing his enemies, but during his military activities he was good enough to allow those kings to keep their own position, who remained obedient to him. After having forced to submission some of the rebellious *sāmantas* of the east, Mānadeva had to proceed to the west where also he wanted to subdue a misguided feudal chief. The mutilated condition of this famous king's inscription prevents us from forming our idea of his other historical achievements. In A.D. 331 (=388 V.E.) one Naravarman set up a *linga* probably at the instance of the king. In the year A.D. 332 (=389 V.E.) Mānadeva installed the image of Vishṇu (in his Vāmana incarnation) for the increase of the religious merit of his mother. In A.D. 342 (=399 V.E.) one small inscription was carved at the bottom of a relief representing a divinity in the temple of Indal-Devī. In the same year A.D. 342 when Mānadeva I was the ruler, one person named Ratnasaṁgha installed a *liṅga* named Ratneśvara and he made a gift of several pieces of land for the maintenance of the god's temple in Deo-Patan. One Guhamitra, the chief of the merchants' corporation, installed the image of the sun-god (of the name of Indra) in the year A.D. 345 (=402 V.E.). The king favoured a private person named Jayavarmman with permission to erect a *liṅga* of Śiva called Jayeśvara in A.D. 356 (=V.E. 413) for the welfare of the king and his people. In A.D. 370 (=427 V.E.) during the reign of Mānadeva I a person named Nirapeksha set up the image of his parents (?) near the entrance of the temple of Chaṅgu-Nārāyaṇa. In another inscription (of which the date is illegible) belonging to the reign of Mānadeva I, we read of another person of the name of Prabhusiṅgha setting up a *liṅga* named Prabhukeśvara. His was a long reign covering a period of not less than 39 years. It seems quite reasonable to suppose that the royal residence of Nepal, called *Mānagṛiha*, from where the successors, immediate and remote, of Mānadeva ruled Nepal, was established by this king or one of his descendants, and named after him (Māna).

After Mānadeva, his son Mahīdeva became king and the latter was succeeded by his son Vasantadeva who ruled Nepal from Mānagṛiha residence at least for 26 years ranging from A.D. 371 to A.D. 397 He used the title of *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja*, which was also the title of his late father, mentioned as *Parama-daivata Bappa*. He was known for his learning, policy, compassion, charity, politeness and valour. He was the reigning sovereign of Nepal in A.D. 378 (=V.E. 435), when his chief administrator of (criminal) justice and Police officer (*sarva-daṇḍa-nāyaka-mahāpratihāra*) was Ravigupta. During Vasantadeva's reign (in A.D. 397) we also find the name of Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Kramalīla who is also mentioned as such in an inscription of king Rāmadeva (in A.D. 412). It also appears that Pratīhāra Bhavagupta was also a local administrative officer, under Vasantadeva. The latter officer is also found to have acted in the same capacity in the year A.D. 392 and in A.D. 397. Under him acted a local official head of a place of a grant, transacting administrative business, and his name seems to have been Mahīśīla. His position appears to have been like that of the *vishayapalis* under the Gupta rulers. We think that this Vasantadeva, or more probably his grand-father, was the Nepal ruler who had to yield to the Gupta emperor Samudragupta, and bow to his imperial authority, when the latter led his conquering expedition to most parts of India including Nepal. Vasantadeva enjoyed a long peaceful reign after having settled with his enemies and received the homage of subdued *sāmantas*. It cannot be determined with certainty if this king's enemies were his own Lichchhavi kinsmen of the imperial Gupta line. It is very interesting to know that the Nepalese people during these early times were anxious to save the Brahmanic religion from the false arguments of the sophisticators. Evidence of such a view can be obtained from a peculiar epigraph (Gnoli XI) to be dated in either Mānadeva's or, at the latest, in Vasantadeva's reign according to Gnoli, which forms a *praśasti* written by a person named Anuparama in praise of Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, who, according to the writer, saved the Brahmanic religion by composing Bhārata (Mahābhārata) for the people's attainments of the way to liberation (*mukti-mārgga*) and was treated as the most competent authority to speak of religious subjects. We have remarked above on clear palaeographic evidence and other arguments that the first group of Nepal kings from Vṛishadeva to Vasantadeva used in their records the Vikrama era and this explodes the theory that this era was not genuine and was an invention of the sixth century A.D.

We have clear reference to the next Nepal king in the name Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Rāmadeva during whose reign in saṁvat 469 (=A.D.412) Mahārāja-mahāsāmanta Kramalīla informed his sovereign of the grant of a piece of a kshetra-land by a lady named Mānamatī to (*liṅga* image of) Nātheśvara. The inscription on the base of an image of the Buddhist god, Avalokiteśvara established by Mahendramatī, wife of paramopāsaka Maṇigupta, seems to belong to the reign (date being missing) of king Rāmadeva. It seems evident that Gnoli's Inscription No. XVI dated Saṁvat 462 (=A.D. 405) recording the installation of a *liṅga* symbol of god Śambhu of the name of Aṇuparameśvara by an Ābhirī for enhancement of religious merit of her dead husband and for the good of her children, Bhaumagupta and others and the grant of two pieces of land for the upkeep of the deity's daily necessities, must have belonged to either Vasantadeva's or, more probably, to Rāmadeva's reign. It is quite probable that *mahārāja* Gaṇadeva, (S. Lévi VII) whose name does not, however, occur in Bhagwanlal No. 15, ruled from Mānagṛiha after the reign of Rāmadeva. This ruler Gaṇadeva reigned for at least seven years from A.D. 425 to A.D. 432. During his reign

Prasādagupta was an administrator in a locality, Bhaumagupta was the Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpratīhāra. Svāmi-vārtta, son of Bhaumagupta established the image of Hari-Hara during Gaṇadeva's reign in A.D. 432. After this group's rule when the political influence of the Gupta was very great on Nepal, the second group of kings, e. g. Śivadeva I and Dhruvadeva of Mānagṛiha, used the Gupta era in their records. But when, reigning collaterally with them from the second residence, Kailāsakūṭabhavana, Aṁśuvarman of the Ṭhākurī line and his successors were influenced by Harshavardhana's conquest of, or only a conquering expedition into Nepal, they introduced, while at the same time owing allegiance to their suzerains of the Lichchhavi dynasty, the Harsha era in their documents.

Indraji No. 15 (Gnoli LXXXI) keeps a hiatus of eight Lichchhavi rulers after Vasantadeva. Out of these eight we have now found five names of kings viz. (1) Rāmadeva (Gnoli XVII), (2) Gaṇadeva (Gnoli XIX), (3) Mānadeva II, (4) Guṇakāmadeva, and (5) Vasurāja. We are not aware of the place of the last three rulers mentioned in inscriptions. Another king of the Lichchhavi dynasty of Mānagṛiha (6), named Bhīmārjunadeva is newly found in some of Gnoli's inscriptions. He appears to have been the contemporary suzerain of Jishṇugupta and Vishṇugupta and his hitherto known dates range from at least 55 H.E. (A.D. 661) to 65 H.E. (A.D. 671). As stated before, in our opinion, this king may have been the father of Udayadeva. We are yet in want of names of two[44] more sovereigns of the Lichchhavi lineage within the whole period covered by Vasantadeva's reign and that of Narendradeva who was the thirteenth in the serial after Vasantadeva, to complete the full list of thirty-three Lichchhavi rulers as suggested in Jayadeva II's famous inscription (Indraji No. 15).

Kings Śivadeva I and Dhruvadeva are two of the eleven kings (not thirteen, as shown before), who reigned during the interval between Vasantadeva (the 18th king) and Udayadeva (the 30th). Although these two kings are not found mentioned in Jayadeva II's inscription No. 15 dated A.D. 769 they have their own and other contemporary records to tell us the story of their life and the events of their royal career. Śivadeva I, styled *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja* and the banner of the Lichchhavikula ruled as suzerain in Nepal from the royal residence of Mānagṛiha, which was then more than three hundred years old. Under his suzerainty ruled simultaneously King Aṁśuvarman of the Ṭhākurī family from the residence at Kailāsakūṭabhavana. On the advice of the latter, described as enjoying the position of a *mahāsāmanta* only, Śivadeva I issued in Gupta *saṁvat* 317 i.e. A.D. 636-37 an address to the heads and other householders of a certain village, regarding the right of entry thereinto of Government officers. In this charter the *dūtaka* was Bhogavarman, who may be identified with the nephew (sister's son) of Aṁśuvarman, bearing the same name, who was a descendant of the Maukhari dynasty, and later became the father-in-law of Śivadeva II. So through this Bhogavarman, Aṁśuvarman's sister's son, whose daughter Vatsadevī (daughter of Ādityasena's daughter) was married to Śivadeva II, we find a matrimonial union between the two royal families (the Lichchhavi and the Ṭhākurī) of Nepal. The latter two, the Maukhari dynasty and that of the Later Guptas of Magadha are, therefore, connected together by intermarriage. There is a reference in the Nepal *Vaṁśāvalī* also to the effect that Aṁśuvarman himself was the son-in-law of a *Sūryavaṁśī* king named Viśvadevavarman, whose name, however, cannot be found in the hitherto known epigraphic records. The Maukhari Bhogavarman is mentioned in an inscription of Aṁśuvarman dated A.D. 645; so it can be easily believed that he was very young when he acted as a *dūtaka* in A.D., 636-37 in his maternal uncle's palace at Nepal, where his mother Bhogadevī also installed a *Śivaliṅga*. If this view of ours be regarded as correct, Śūrasena, the husband of Bhogadevī, becomes a Maukhari prince, who might have ruled at Kanauj after Harsha's death, and his son Bhogavarman was probably the last Maukhari king known in history. This Bhogavarman acted also as a *dūtaka* in another charter (S. Lévi IX), of which the date is nearly of the same period, but which was issued by Śivadeva I on the advice of the *mahāsāmanta* Aṁśuvarman. The inscription of Thoka (S. Lévi X), which was dated in our opinion 319 Gupta era, and in which Vipravarmagomin was the *dūtaka*, also belonged to Śivadeva I's reign. The two charters (S. Lévi XI-XII) dated Gupta *saṁvat* 320, in which *vārtta* Bhogachandra and Deśavarma-gomin respectively acted as the *dūtaka*, were *samājñāpanā* forms of address issued from the Mānagṛiha palace by Śivadeva I. In some of Śivadeva I's inscriptions we find Aṁśuvarman described as a *mahāsāmanta*, who achieved fame by quelling the country's enemies by his heroism and victory in battles and administered properly the affairs of the kingdom. These services of Aṁśuvarman formed, according to the opinion of Bhagwanlal Indraji, the nucleus of his royal or quasi-royal position in Nepal politics and he gradually rose into prominence during his suzerain Śivadeva I's reign, by making a mark in the political life of Nepal by his warlike achievements. From his inscription dated A.D. 640 this prince, described as being favoured by the feet of Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka and meditating those of his *Bappa* (father) who, however, is not mentioned as enjoying any dignity like that of a *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja*, began to issue command from the second residence of Kailāsakūṭabhavana, probably established by himself. In an inscription (Gnoli XXXIII) of Śivadeva I the date of which is missing, we find Aṁśuvarman decorated with the titles of *mahārājādhirāja* and *sāmanta*. The *Vaṁśavalī* relates that Aṁśuvarman transferred the seat of Government to a place called Madhyalakha; but we find that all his epigraphic records and some of those of his successors, were issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana. It cannot be ascertained if the two places were identical. Anyhow the influence of the new residence was increasing from now, and the Lichchhavi suzerains were gradually losing their royal power and assuming, probably, the status of nominal rulers. Aṁśuvarman's chief administrator of justice (*sarvva-daṇḍa-nāyaka*) was Vikramasena, who acted as the *dūtaka* in an official transaction. The Chief justice, *Rājaputra* Vikramasena, was also the *dūtaka* in the charter (Lévi XV) dated 638 A.D., which was issued by the *mahāsāmanta* as a direct order (*svayam = ājñā*) bestowing some privileges on the inhabitants of the village of Śaṅgāgrāma. It is almost certain that this Vikramasena should be identified with the *dūtaka* of the same name, having the use of the title *Rāja-putra*, in the inscription (No. 4) dated G. E. 335 (not 535 G. E. as read by Bhagwanlal), i.e. in 564-55 A.D. He may have been a son of Śivadeva I, though never a reigning prince. In 640 A.D. Aṁśuvarman issued a charter through his chief Army-officer (*mahābalādhyaksha*) named Vindu-svāmin. It has been shown above from the contents of another charter, issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana, that *Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānugṛīhīta* and *Bappa-pādānudhyāta* Aṁśuvarman gave directions to the officers of the Western Court (*Paśchimādhikaraṇa*) that they should not interfere with the working of the Committees called *Adhaḥśālā-Pañchālikās*, who were appointed by him to administer the estate of the *liṅgas* dedicated respectively by his sister, Bhogadevī, mother of Bhogavarman and wife of Rājaputra Śūrasena, by his niece Bhāgyadevī and by the other elder brothers (ancestors ?) of the last-mentioned princess. Aṁśuvarman is herein described as a devotee of the god Śiva, and also as taking the greatest delight in making proper arrangements for the stability and preservation of religious institutions, as he was able by pondering over the meaning of the various *śāstras* to destroy false doctrines (*asad-darśana*) by which one must mean in this context Buddhist philosophy. We have already seen from some of his inscriptions (e.g. S. Lévi XIII-XIV) how anxious Aṁśuvarman always remained for the welfare of his subjects. His constant aim was "*kathaṁ prajā me sukhitā bhavet*" —how his people would feel happy. He made benefactions to all sorts of religious and other institutions, as well as to several persons and villages. The list of donations in the above-mentioned inscriptions is evidence in point. *Yuvarāja* Udayadeva (probably the son of the Lichchhavi king Dhruvadeva) was the *dūtaka* who transacted the business regarding this arrangement of King Aṁśuvarman. If this identification be correct, it may be supposed that there was cordial relation yet intact between the two Nepal royal families.

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[44] Regmi refers to these two rulers in his *Ancient Nepal* (Calcutta 1960) thus :—

"The Aṅka coins of Mānadeva and Guṇakāmadeva have also resemblance with the Vikramāṅka coins of Chandragupta II" (p. 69). He also says : "Guṇakāmadeva who comes after Mānadeva II in the list of the chronicle should follow Vasantadeva" (p. 93).

Here we should pause for a while to consider what the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, has stated about Nepal and its ruler at the time of his travels in India (A.D. 629-645). The pilgrim narrates[45] that "the capital was above 20 li in circuit; the country yielded grain and much fruit, also copper, yaks, and francolins; copper-coins were the medium of exchange; the climate was cold; the people were rude and deceitful; good faith and rectitude were slighted by them; they had no learning but were skilful mechanics; they were ugly and coarse in appearance and they believed both in false and true religion, the Buddhist monasteries and the Deva temples touching each other. There were above 200 Buddhist ecclesiastics who were attached to both 'vehicles' and the number of non-Buddhists was not ascertained." This is all that the Chinese traveller says of this country and the character of its people. In the opinion of the Buddhist pilgrim the false religion, in the above description, must refer to Brahmanism, but we have pointed out before that Aṁśuvarman was a devout believer in Brāhmanism having destroyed "fallacious philosophy" (*asad-darśan*a) which again must refer to Buddhism. As regards the kings of Nepal, the pilgrim adds[46]: "The kings of Nepal were Kshatriya Lichchhavis, and they were eminent scholars and believing Buddhists. A recent king whose name is given as Ang-shu-fa-ma or Aṁśuvarman in Chinese Kuang-chan or Radiant Armour, had composed a treatise on Etymology." This description of the kings of Nepal is largely corroborated by the evidence of inscriptions referred to above. The pilgrim's observations on Vṛiji and Nepal have made some of the annotators suspicious, and they think that the pilgrim may not have been to those two places and has described them as he heard from others and learnt from books, more specially because *The Life* does not mention a visit to this Vajji country or to Nepal between his travels in

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[45] Watters—*Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 83-85.

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[46] *Ibid*, p. 84.

Śvetapur and Magadha which he personally visited. Watters, however, regards it "not impossible that Yuan Chwang may have personally visited Nepal" and he adds, moreover, that "at this time, about A.D. 645, Nepal was a dependency of T'u-fan or Tibet, and it joined that country in sending a contingent to help Wang Hsüan-Tse in his trouble with the usurper of Magadha". That the paramount rulers of Nepal belonged to the Lichchhavi dynasty admits of no doubt, but Aṁśuvarman described by the Chinese pilgrim as a "recent king" was himself not a Lichchhavi, but was first a *sāmanta* of that dynasty of rulers and later succeeded in assuming larger powers and even used the loftier title of *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja*, as stated before. He even used later on the loftier title of *mahārājadhirāja* (cf. Gnoli XXXIII, line 7). It does not seem to be true that the rulers of the two dynasties (Lichchhavi and Ṭhākurī) in Nepal owed their allegiance to Tibet. Again Aṁśuvarman appears to have been reigning even upto the year A.D. 646, if not A.D. 651-52, in case the reading of the date 45 Harsha *saṁvat* in Inscription No. 8 of Vibhuvarṁan, one of the king's employees, be taken as correct. In that case he could never be described as a "recent king" by the pilgrim travelling there in A.D. 645. From these circumstances also it is indeed doubtful whether the Chinese traveller actually visited Nepal. Mr. Vaidya thinks that

Harshavardhana's conquest of Nepal was a definite historical event and that this emperor forced Śiva-deva I (the Lichchhavi king) to introduce in Nepal the Harsha era and this happened sometime about A.D. 610, after which Aṁśuvarman became ascendant in the other Court. This king ruled in Nepal from Kailāsakūṭabhavana contemporaneously with Harshavardhana during the latter part of the North Indian emperor's rule, perhaps for a few years even after his death.

Nepal assisted the Tirhut army which proceeded to help the Chinese envoy, Wang-hiuen-tse againt Arjuna (or Aruṇāśva) of Tirhut who usurped the throne of Harsha after his death. This defeat of the usurper was brought about by the combined forces of China, Tibet and Nepal, assisted by the force of the Kāmarūpa king, before A.D. 650 and we believe that the Nepal kings of the two dynasties who thus helped the Chinese and the Tibetan armies were Dhruvadeva of the Lichchhavi line and either Aṁśuvarman of the Ṭhākurī or his successor Jishṇugupta (who probably belonged to a different line).

The first date we know of Jishṇugupta is H.E. 48 (=A.D. 654). Like the preceding ruler, Aṁśuvarman, Jishṇugupta also styles himself *Bhagavat-Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka-pādānugṛihīta* and *Bappa-pādānudhyāta* and issues his charters from the new residence Kailāsakūṭabhavana. In a record (No. 9) of this ruler dated 48 H.E. we find a reference to a repair-work of a *tilamaka* (water-course) which was laid by *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājadhirāja* Aṁśuvarman, but which was destroyed for want of earlier repairs. *Yuvarāja* Vishṇugupta acted as the *dūtaka* in this charter. He acted also as the *dūtaka* in the Thankot inscription (S. Lévi XVI). It seems quite reasonable to suppose that the higher title of *mahārājadhirāja* was assumed by Aṁśuvarman later in his reign, as he was called simply a *sāmanta* and a *mahāsāmanta* earlier, and since then he wielded more regal power causing proportionate reduction of the same to the suzerain family of Lichchhavi kings of Mānagṛiha, which seems to have continued as the royal residence during the reign of Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Dhruvadeva, whose lord-paramountcy was acknowledged by this Jishṇugupta. Two epithets *puṇyānvayad=āgata-rājyyasampat* and *samastapau[rāśri]ta-śāsana* as applied to this king are important as showing that his kingly position was obtained from a virtuous family and that his commands were obeyed by all citizens. This suggests that Jishṇugupta had no lineal connection with the prceding Ṭhākurī ruler, Aṁśuvarman, but only succeeded to his rank as a ruler in Kailāsakūṭabhavana, whence probably he fulfilled his administrative duty towards the people of the city. This view is supported by the epithet *Somānvayabhūshaṇa*, as applied to Jishṇuguptadeva in Thankot inscription (S. Lévi XVI, Gnoli LVI), where he is not found using any title like *mahāsāmanta* or *mahārāja*. It seems that after Dhruvadeva the nominal suzerain occupying the throne at the Mānagṛiha residence was king Bhīmārjunadeva as mentioned in that inscription. We have the name of one Chandravarman, who was a *sāmanta* under Jishṇugupta himself. Doubt will always remain in the minds of some scholars whether the the line of rulers represented by Aṁśuvarman, Jishṇugupta and latter's successor Vishṇugupta ruled from Kailāsakūṭabhavana, collaterally by division of power in the whole of Nepal between themselves and the rulers of the Lichchhavi family of Mānagṛiha. We shall see later on that Mānagṛiha ceased to play its part as the old royal residence during at least the reigns of the last two Lichchhavi rulers viz. Śivadeva II and Jayadeva II, both of whom seem to have their residence at the palace nemed Bhadrādhivāsabhavana (cf. S. Lévi XX). It appears that the rulers of Mānagṛiha had a troublous time before the unknown date of inscription No. 10, and that Aṁśuvarman secured good prospects (*upāttāyatiḥ*) by his success in quelling powerful enemies of his lord-paramount. His successor, Jishṇugupta, had also to devote his mind to finding out means for freeing the Nepalese people headed by his suzerain *Bhaṭṭāraka* Dhruvadeva, from disturbing calamites. Constructive works of public utility, such as leading water-courses and conduits, formed a special feature in Nepal, and both Aṁśuvarman and Jishṇugupta are credited in their own charters with having undertaken such works for the benefit of the people whose representative committees were sometimes directed to spend money out of the collective taxes of their villages towards the upkeep of these benefactions. A donation to the Pāśupata congregation for the provision of repair-work of a temple of Chhatra-Chaṇḍeśvara and a conduit of water (*praṇālikā*) was made during the prosperous and victorious reign (*pravardhamānavijaya-rājya*) of Jishṇugupta. The king's name in the charter dated 82 H.E. i.e. A.D. 688 (Bendall No. III) appears to be lost, but very probably the name was that of King Narendradeva, father of Śivadeva II. The name of the *dūtaka* of this grant, however, is given as Bhaṭṭāraka *Yuvarāja* Skandadeva. King Narendradeva again was the son of Udayadeva (according to our opinion stated above), and he was a great ruler having under his suzerainty a large number of vassal kings who used to pay him homage

During the reign of co-regent Jishṇugupta (Harsha *saṁvat* 49-65 i.e. A.D. 655-671) we find the names of two Lichchhavi overlords viz. Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Dhruvadeva (mentioned 4 times), and Bhīmārjunadeva (also mentioned 4 times). For unknown reasons we do not, however, find Bhīmārjunadeva in Jayadeva's famous No. 15 inscription. It is extremely important that in one inscription (Gnoli LIV) of Vishṇugupta's time there is mention of four Lichchhavi rulers Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājas Vasurāja, Mahīdeva, Mānadeva, and Gaṇadeva. It is not easy to ascertain if this Mahīdeva and Mānadeva are the 17th and 16th rulers respectively in our list. But the names of Vasurāja and Gaṇadeva are obtained from some of Gnoli's Inscriptions. Vasurāja's place in the chronology is difficult to fix up.

King Bhīmārjunadeva (Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja) of the Lichchhavi dynasty of Mānrgṛiha was also suzerain for a few years of Jishṇugupta's co-regency. This royal name is also newly obtained at present and is mentioned in Gnoli's LV (H.E. 55), LVIII, LXI (H.E. 64) and LXII (H.E. 65), the date in LVIII being missing. This king must have to be placed before the famous king Narendradeva. He was suzerain of Vishṇugupta in 64 G.E. and 65 G.E. This king's parentage is not known. Only the dates indicate that before Udayadeva's reign, he ruled for at least about one decade (his dates ranging from 55 H.E. to 65 H.E.). His relationship with Udayadeva is not clearly understood. In all probability this Udayadeva was the son of Bhīmārjunadeva. But the next king Narendradeva whose first regnal year in inscriptions is found to be 69 H.E. is described in Indraji's No. 15 as the son of Udayadeva, thirteenth in number from Vasantadeva. His long reign ranged at least from 69 H.E. to 103 H.E. It is this king of the ancient Lichchhavi lineage who restored the full glory of his family by probably abolishing the powerful co-regency of the Ṭhākurī dynasty of Aṁśuvarman, Jishṇugupta and Vishṇugupta. Narendradeva is described (in Gnoli LXVI of H.E. 69) as *Bhagavat-Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānugṛihīta*, *Bappapādānudhyāta* and *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*. The single verse in it describes this king as 'one who greatly adorned his valour by his political qualities, his own self by brilliant attributes, his strength of arms by power, his intellect by extensive knowledge of the *śāstras*, his limits of propriety by orderly discipline, the different quarters by his fame, the lands by the glory of his rule and the Lichchhavi lineage by his birth'. He issued his charter to the future Nepāla kings from Kailāsakūṭabhavana, so long used as the residence of the Ṭhākurī Kings. Kumārāmātya Priyajīva was the *dūtaka* in this grant, as also in another grant (Gnoli LXVII). One king Māneśvara (Mānadeva ?) as well as king Bhūmagupta are mentioned in the former. It appears that the shrine of Bhuvaneśvara was dedicated by the former and that for unknown reasons the latter (who was most probably the father of Aṁśuvarman) appropriated the area of land granted by the previous king. King Narendradeva re-granted the same area to the shrine. In the inscription of H.E. 71 (Gnoli LXVIII) of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Narendradeva one Daṇḍanāyaka Nṛipadeva was the *dūtaka*. One Vishṇudeva's dedication of a well took place in H.E. 89 (Gnoli LXIX) when Narendradeva was the ruler of the earth (a virtual emperor). It seems most probable that in H.E. 89 (Gnoli LXXI) most likely in Narendradeva's reign, Rājaputra Janārdanavarman was the *dūtaka* in the grant and in H.E. 95 (Gnoli LXXII) undoubtedly during Narendradeva's reign Yuvarāja Śauryadeva was the *dūtaka* in the grant. This king issued his land-grant (Gnoli LXXIV) in which many vihāras (monasteries) are mentioned by name, from Bhadradhivāsa-bhavana (the auspicious residential quarters). We find in H.E. 103 (Gnoli LXXIII) in Narendradeva's inscription the name of Bhaṭṭāraka Śivadeva as the *dūtaka*, but whose name seems, however, missing in Narendradeva's inscription (Gnoli LXXIV) probably of the same Saṁvat.

Narendradeva's son and successor was King Śivadeva II, one of whose charters, issued from the residence at Kailāsakūṭabhavana, bears the date 119 in Harsha era (=A.D. 725) ; and this evidently indicates that he enjoyed a long reign in Nepal. During this and the next king's reign no trace of the so-called double or collateral Government, which was prevalent during a portion of the last hundred years, is found to exist. King Śivadeva II himself used the imperial titles *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and and *mahārājādhirāja* in addition to the usual epithets, used by all former kings, viz. *Bhagavat-Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānūgṛihīta* and *Bappa-pādānudhyāta.* That this king had a most tolerant attitude in the matter of religion is clearly seen from the fact that he established, on the one hand, the Śiva-god (in the *liṅga* form), named after himself as Śivadeveśvara, for the upkeep of whose temple he granted a village as *agrahāra*, according to the dictum of *bhūmichchhidranyāya*, to a sect of the Pāśupatāchāryyas and on the other, a Buddhist monastery named Śivadeva-vihāra for the benefit of the fraternity of Buddhist monks (*Āryya-bhikshusaṁgha*) to which also he granted a village. There is a reference to another grant (S. Lévi XX) made by this king to the fraternity of Buddhist monks residing in the same *vihāra*. In the former grant his son Rājaputra Jayadeva was the *dūtaka* and in the latter the king himself acted as such. His character and accomplishments as a sovereign have been very graphically described in the famous inscription (No. 15) of his son Jayadeva II. A conqueror and efficient administrator as he was, this king was easily offered the hand of Vatsadevī whom he married. This princess was the daughter of Bhogavarman, the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the Maukhari dynasty, who were so rich in strength of arms and who put all hostile kings to shame. She was also connected with the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha as being the daughter's daughter of the great Ādityasena, called in this record *Magadhādhipa*. The mutilated inscription No. 14 dated 145 Harsha era i.e. A.D. 751, of which the portion containing the names of the king and and the place of issue is broken away and lost, seems to have belonged not to the reign of Śivadeva II but to his son and successor Jayadeva II, whose reign, as we think, commenced about A.D. 740; and we also believe that the *dūtaka* mentioned therein as *Yuvarāja* Vijayadeva was very likely the actual heir-apparent, Jayadeva II's son. Bhaṭṭāraka Vijayadeva is also mentioned to have acted as the *dūtaka* in the inscription (S. Lévi XVIII) dated A.D. 743. If this inscription could be referred to Śivadeva II's reign as was done by Fleet, then this *Yuvarāja* was probably a second son of the king and hence a brother of Jayadeva II. In this case one may also hesitate to regard this as a "vicarious" name of Jayadeva II as was done by Bhagwanlal. Can it be true that *all* sons of early Nepal kings including those who were not realy heirs-apparent to the throne were called *Yuvarājas?* We have a reference to an announcement in this epigraphic record to the people of Nepal, which clearly indicates that breakers of the public peace and obstructors of the use of public works, such as water-courses etc., were produced in the royal courts (*rājakula*) for trial. The record dated 151 H.E. (=A.D. 757) announcing the grant by a private individual to a committee (*Pañchaka*) belonged in our opinion to the reign of Jayadeva II. There is an allusion in an inscription of Śivadeva II (No. 12) to a supply of labour from villages by Nepal kings for the Labour Service of Bhoṭṭa (Bhutān or Tibet ?).

In a new inscription discovered by Gnoli (No. LXXVI) of H.E. 109 (=A.D. 715) Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja Śivadeva (II) of the ancient Lichchhavi lineage made a land-grant in honour of Paśupatibhaṭṭāraka by a document of *Svayamājñā* type. This charter was issued from Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana residence and it contained the name of Jayadeva-bhaṭṭāraka as the *dūtaka* and he is also mentioned as dūtaka in Gnoli LXXXIV the date in which is illegible. Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Jayadeva (II) is also mentioned in an utterly worn out inscription (Gnoli LXXXV) in which also the date is missing. Jayadeva is found mentioned as Rājaputra Jayadeva in Śivadeva's (II's) grant issued in H.E. 125 (=A.D. 731) from Kailāsakūṭabhavana.

Lastly we find the name of another Śivadeva, perhaps to be called Śivadeva III in Gnoli LXXXIX dated in 172 Saṁvat (if it has been correctly deciphered). He may have been Jayadeva II's son and grand-son of Śivadeva II. In this connection we may recall that Jayadeva II's famous inscription (Gnoli LXXXI i.e. Indraji no. 15) bears the date H.E. 159 (=A.D. 765).

As to Jayadeva II, the hitherto last known king of the Lichchhavi dynasty of Nepal, we first notice him as the *dūtaka* of a grant in the inscription dated 119 Harsha era (=A.D. 725), where he is named Rājaputra Jayadeva. In the mutilated inscription (S. Lévi XIX) in which we find reference to an information of labour people (*vishṭimanushya-sambandha*) and tradesmen carrying on business in royal courts (*rājakula-vyavasāyins*), the *dūtaka* was the same Rājaputra Jayadeva. More important historical information about this king who really became a lord-paramount can only be obtained from his own *praśasti* (No. 15). He was the son and successor of Śivadeva II and was born of the famous Queen Vatsadevī. He himself, however, married the daughter of Harsha, king of Kāmarūpa, who is described in that inscription as the lord of Gauḍa, Uḍra, and other countries, as well as of Kaliṅga and Kosala. It is also stated there, in the garb of puns, that King Jayadeva II extended his political influence over the Aṅga country with the fortunes of which he was endowed, conquered Kāmarūpa, approached Kāñchī in the south and bestowed his attention even on the work of administration of the distant Surāshṭra country. Hence the poet of the eulogy, Buddhakīrtti, rightly states that Jayadeva II displayed the career of a universal monarch (*sārvvabhauma-charitaṁ prakaṭīkaroti*) and was, therefore, known to people by his second name *Parachakrakāma*, "one desirous of winnning the kingdoms of his enemies." This king was very liberal, learned, far-seeing and self-respecting. His people were free from all sorts of misfortunes and internal disturbances. The Brāhmaṇas received bounteous gifts from his treasury for making sacrificial offerings to the god. This certainly speaks of the good administration of his kingdom. He caused to be made the famous silver-lotus which his mother Vatsadevī dedicated to the temple of the god Paśupati in honour of her deceased husband, King Śivadeva II. The king was also a poet of a very high order, as the five verses of his own composition in the *praśasti* may show. He is described as living in 159 H.E. (i.e. A.D. 765) in good health and the court-poet wished for him yet a very long life.

The chapter may be closed with the remark that the culture and civilisation of this mountainous country during the period under notice were exactly similar to those prevailing in the other parts of India on the plains. In this cultural respect Nepal may be assumed to have formed an integral part of India at the time. The society, religion and politics of this wonderful country—"an uninterrupted succession of hill and valley"—as represented in her early epigraphic records are distinctly of the same type and order as in the rest of India, specially in North-Eastern India. Nepal enjoyed no civilisation alien to that of India herself.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We intend to bring the work to a close by making a few general remarks on some of the special administrative, economic, social and religious features of the period dealt with in the previous chapters. Much space, however, need not be devoted to this subject, for we have incidentally referred to the culture and mode of life of the people of North-Eastern India, in our treatment of the general political condition in the foregoing pages. A short reference to the Hindu (rather Brāhmanic) renaissance which was so clearly marked in the glorious period of the Imperial Gupta rule in India, the Periclean age of Indian history as some historians may call it, will be made in this connection. To put this matter in the briefest possible way, we may quote a line from the history[1] of India, written by the late Dr. Vincent Smith, who says that in India, during this period,— "Literature, art, and science flourished in a degree beyond the ordinary, and gradual changes in religion were effected without persecution." There is ample evidence to show that in spite of the fact that the Imperial Gupta emperors embraced

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[1] *Oxford History of India*, 2nd edition, pp. 156-57.

Brahmanical Hinduism and styled themselves *parama-bhāgavatas* or *parama-daivatas*, they adopted a general policy of perfect religious toleration. They seem to have officially recognised the worship of gods and goddesses of other Brāhmanical sects, and also showed patronage even to the religious institutions of the non-Brahmanical sects viz. Buddhism and Jainism, which were still, of course, believed in by many families, under a somewhat modified form. The people of the period enjoyed full liberty of making perpetual endowments to temples or monasteries; and one could even, irrespective of his own religious persuasion, make donations to institutions belonging to other faiths. As an illustration[2] we may refer here to the donation of land, purchased from the Government by the Brahmin couple, Nāthaśarman and his wife Rāmī, for the worship of the Jinas (Arhats), in the great Jaina *vihāra* at Vaṭagohālī mentioned in the Paharpur inscription. This Jaina *vihāra* was an older institution existing probably in the same locality of Paharpur (in the Rajshahi district), situated in the old Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. The Brahmanical temple excavated out of the the mound at that place belonged to the late Gupta period and according to archaeologists its type is similar to that of Brahmanical temples of Java. Many "Brahmanical and Buddhist bas-reliefs and terracotta plaques, dating from the late Gupta times" were also found at that place during the excavations. These North-Bengal relics speak of the prevalence of three different faiths in one and the same place, during the Gupta period, although we find that the influence of the non-orthodox religions was waning in this period on account of the growing renovation of Brahmanism under the patronage of the Guptas.

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[2] *E. I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.

It may be noted here that during the four or five centuries before the rise of the Gupta dynasty, Brahmanism and along with it, the Sanskrit language and literature, suffered a good deal on account of the ascendancy of Buddhism and the cultivation of the Prakrits under the patronage of the Kushān kings. During that period people in many parts of the country ceased even to perform some of the Vedic rites, and to show veneration to gods and Brahmins. The kings did not care to to celebrate the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, even on the assumption of supreme sovereign power. R. G. Bhandarkar in *A Peep into the Early History of India*[3] has shown that "the Brāhmanic revival may be understood to have truly begun" in the time of Wema-Kadphises, who styled himself a worshipper of Maheśvara. He also pointed out that some of the kings of foreign origin "were no doubt

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[3] Reprinted and published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1920, cf. pp. 56-74.

Hinduized, but they were not Brāhmanized. And the Brāhmaṇa themselves complained of their being neglected by the Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas". Hence he thought that "an all-sided revival and renovation could proceed only under the patronage of Hindu princes" like the Guptas.

We have seen before that the first few Gupta monarchs were great patrons of learning and all kinds of fine arts. The general consensus of opinion amongst scholars points to Kālidāsa, the greatest Sanskrit poet and dramatist, having flourished during the Gupta period. It is quite true that extensive royal patronage to the Muses made it possible for poets like Harisheṇa, Vatsabhaṭṭi and the like, to appear in such poetic glory. The Buddhist teacher and philosopher Vasubandhu, Asaṅga and the former's pupil Diṅnāga also lived during this period. Sir Ramkrishna was also of the opinion that this period was "the age when metrical Smṛtis, Purāṇas and Bhāshyas or commentaries containing explanatory, apologetic, and controversial matter, began to be written ; and the general literary impulse was communicated to other branches of learning including poetry". Some chapters of the *Mahābhārata*, containing reference to the races and tribes who set the Brahmins at defiance and gradually ceased to perform their religious rites, were probably interpolated into the epic, and the prevalent *Manusaṁhitā* was also in all probability composed, during this period. The Purāṇas were recast, and it is assumed that the *Vāyu*, the oldest of them, was written under Gupta patronage. The epigraphic records, from which we derived the materials for the previous chapters, show clearly how far the worship of the various deities, belonging to the three chief cults, viz. Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Śāktism, was adopted by the people of this age, and a study of the Purāṇas, supposed to have been written during the time, convinces us of the considerable progress made by these cults. It is quite probable too that Śabarasvāmin, the great commentator on the Mīmāṁsā, and the great Prabhākara of the other school in the same branch of philosophy, who fought so hard against the tenets of the Buddhists and Jains and also Bharadvāja, the author of the Nyāya work called the *Uddyota*, wrote their works during the period between the fifth and seventh centuries A.D.

The progress of science in this period is attested by the scientific and mathematical works of the great Indian astronomers, Āryabhaṭa (born A.D. 476), Varāhamihira (born A.D. 505-87) and Brahmagupta (A.D. 598). The practice of the various fine arts, specially music, architecture, and painting was extensive in this golden age. Temples of this period built of stone and bricks, discovered in whole or in parts, in different parts of the country, e.g. at Jhansi, Benares (Sarnath), Kanpur and Paharpur (Bengal), the rock-cut caves of Ajanta with their excellent frescoes and the beautiful Buddhist images of the period indicate the perfection attained by these allied arts. The inscriptional records and the literature of the period have disclosed the existence of all kinds of artisans, artists, and craftsmen, of whom there existed various regulations of corporate industrial life. Metallurgy and coinage were two of the special features of Gupta civilisation. Foreign influence due to trade intercourse between India on the one hand, and on the other, the European countries, specially the Roman Empire in the west and China, Java and other Asiatic countries in the east, made a somewhat palpable impress on the civilized life of the people of India at that time ; and Indians then knew how far to imitate and assimilate the excellent features in the art and culture of foreigners.

A few words on the system of provincial government during the Gupta rule, specially in North-Eastern India, will not be out of place here. We know incidentally from the edicts of Aśoka that the Mauryya[4] emperor appointed his own viceroys to rule over the large provinces in the north-west, the south, the east and the west, the central part of the empire having probably been kept under the direct rule of the emperor at Pāṭaliputra. A remarkable continuity of this policy seems to have prevailed among the rulers of India in later times, though they belonged to different dynasties. The eight earliest (North Bengal) copper-plate grants of the Gupta period known to archaeologists, six of which were deciphered and published for the first time by the present writer, reveal a most important fact of administration viz., that it was the central Government under the Gupta emperors, which used to appoint the provincial governors, who are described as being *tat-pāda-parigṛihīta* (literally, accepted by the imperial majesty's feet), and have right of use of such titles as *uparika-mahārāja*. Their position may be compared to some extent with that enjoyed by the Divisional Commissioners of modern times, if the latter could be directly responsible to the Imperial Government. The present writer remarked while editing the Damodarpur inscriptions that these

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[4] It may be noted here that a fragmentary Mauryya inscription at Mahāsthāna in the Bogra district which conveyed an order of some ruler of the Mauryya period to a *mahāmātra* officer stationed in Puṇḍranagara for helping the famine-stricken peoply by advancing money and distributing paddy from the district granary (E.I., XXI, pp. 85).

According to D. R. Bhandarkar, this inscription, the earliest of those so far discovered in Bengal, establishes the identity of Puṇḍranagara with Mahāsthāna, and that Bengal, at any rate North Bengal, must have been included in the Mauryya empire. It may be mentioned incidentally that Kushān or pseudo-Kushān coins have also been found in North Bengal.

provincial governors of the Gupta period had power to appoint the *vishayapatis* (district officers), who are described as *tan-niyuktas* (literally, appointed by them), and as having right of use of such titles as *kumārāmātya* or *āyukta*. But it appears from the wording of the text in the Baigram inscription[5] that the *vishayapatis* were also sometimes appointed directly by the emperor's court, and the component word *tat* in the compound *tan-niyuktaka* may in that case refer to the emperor himself. It may, however, be reasonably assumed that the emperor appointed them in consultation with the *bhukti* governors, whose own appointment, however, was directly in the hands of the emperor. It is also a most important and interesting point that the *vishayapatis* had their head-quarters in *adhishṭhānas* (towns), where they had their own *adhikaraṇas* (offices or courts). Another most interesting fact of administrative history, which was known for the first time from these North Bengal inscriptions, is that the *vishayapati* as the head of the *vishaya* was aided in his administrative work (*saṁvyavahāra*) by a Board of Advisers, which seems to have been constituted by four members, representing the different interests of those days, viz., (1) the *nagara-śreshṭhin*, representing the various guilds or corporations of the town or the rich urban population, (2) the *sārthavāha* (the chief merchant), representing the various trade-guilds and other mercantile professions of the *vishaya*, (3) the *prathama-kulika* (the chief artisan) representing the craft-guilds and (4) the *prathama-kāyasthas* (the chief scribe), representing either the *kāyasthas* as a class, or acting as a State official in the capacity of a Chief-Secretary of the present days. The same system of administration appears to have prevailed in the Tīrabhukti province and the *Vaiśālīvishaya*, and this can be very easily gathered from the inscriptions of the innumerable stray clay-seals belonging to the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., discovered during the excavations[6] at Basarh (old Vaiśālī in Tirhut). These have revealed to us the designations of some of the important State functionaries of the Gupta period. We read of both a *vishaya* and an *adhishṭhāna* of the name of Vaiśālī. The legend on the Basarh seal (No. 25), viz. *Vaiśālyadhishṭhānādhikaraṇa* referring to the court (or office or department) of the *vishayādhipati* in the town of Vaiśālī, can be very well compared with the legend on the seal of Damodarpur plate (No. 5) viz., *Koṭivarshādhishṭhānādhikaraṇa*, referring to the court at the head-quarters of Koṭivarsha. We have no doubt that the *Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* and the *uparikādhikaraṇa* mentioned in some of these Basarh seals, refer to the court of the *vishayapati* of Tīra (town) and the governor of Tīrabhukti respectively.

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[5] *E. I.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 81 ff.

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[6] *Archaeological Survey Report*, 1903-4.

The word *adhikaraṇa* used with the word *kumārāmātya* or such other words cannot mean "the chief", as the learned writer of the *Archaeological Survey Report* (1903-4) wrongly thinks. Tīrabhukti was at first probably under the direct administrative jurisdiction of the emperor (Chandragupta II) who had under him a *vishayapati*, and it was to the latter's office or court that the legend on some of the seals, standing thus *Śrī-parama-bhaṭṭārakapādīya-kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* (Seal No. 6), is to be referred. But when *mahārāja* Govindagupta (as *yuvarāja*) was appointed by the monarch to act as the Governor of Tīrabhukti, presumably with the title *uparika* (cf. the legend *Tīrabhuktyuparikādhikaraṇasya* on seal No. 20), the office or court of the *vishayapati* working under him must have been named *Yuvarāja*-(or, *yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka*)-*pādīya-kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* (cf. seals on Nos. 4 and 6). When an empire expands through gradual territorial aggrandizement, it becomes impossible for the emperor to rule it directly with the help of the central executive alone, and therefore the outlying provinces are constituted into different units or divisions, for administrative purposes, presided over by princes or governors appointed by him. The success of the Magadhan government under the Mauryyas was undoubtedly due to the prevalence of a perfectly trained machinery of administration—almost a veritable form of modern bureaucracy—which included a hierarchy of different kinds of officers, under the title *adhyaksha*, both civil and military. This is clear from the pages of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. The policy of maintaining such a constitution with necessary modifications, according to circumstances, was continued by the Gupta emperors and their successors, in all parts of India, specially in the North-Eastern provinces, such as Sāketa, Old Bengal (including Karṇasuvarṇa-Puṇḍravardhana, and Vaṅga-Samataṭa), Orissa, and Kāmarūpa. In some of the Basarh seals, as in the inscriptions of the Gupta and post-Gupta period, we have reference to certain other administrative departments, such as *balādhikaraṇa* (Army office), *raṇabhāṇḍāgārādhikaraṇa* (Department of munition or military stores), *daṇḍapāśikādhikaraṇa* (Police Department), *vinaya-sthiti-sthāpakādhikaraṇa* (the Department of the minister of Law and Order, or of the Superintendent of the moral conduct of the people, as some may translate the word). It seems that Vaiśālī was a large trading centre, as is clear from the occurrence on a large number of seals, of the names of some individual *kulikas* and *śreshṭhins*, as well as from that of such legends, as *śreshṭhi-śārthavāha-kulika-nigama* (seal No. 29), which certainly refer to some corporate bodies of bankers, traders and artisans existing in the town. There seems to be no doubt that they were represented in the Bord of Advisers of the *vishaya*-

patis at Vaiśālī, as in the Koṭivarsha *vishaya* in North Bengal. Names also occur in some of the Basarh seals of persons holding the high offices of the *mahāpratīhāra* (the Chief door-keeper, perhaps the chief of the palace Police), the *daṇḍanāyaka* (the administrator of justice), and the *bhaṭāśvapati* (master of infantry and cavalry). Another high State-officer, reference to whom is frequently found in early inscriptions, is the *sāndhivigrahika* (the Minister of Peace and War). The existence of village *pañchāyet* committees (cf. the term *Parishad* at Udānakūpa in one of the Basarh seals) can be proved from some of the records of the Gupta period in India, and of a somewhat later period of Nepal.

Another class of local officers, found mentioned in the North and East Bengal plates of the Gupta and post-Gupta period, are the *pustapālas* (the Government record-keepers), who, it seems, were possessed of the knowledge of the title to all lands. The Government would sanction land-sales only after these record-keepers had, on receipt of application from the *bonafide* purchasers, determined the title to the land under proposal of transfer, and sent in their report to Government. Other important bodies, presumably rural, are also mentioned in old epigraphic records of the period, viz. the *Mahāttaras* (the leading men of the villages), *ashṭakulādhikaraṇas* (probably small departments having supervising authority over eight *kulas*, which may mean either the particular divisions of land of the same name, or families), and *grāmikas* (the heads of villages who had the special privilege of using a portion of the king's dues and the right to refer criminal offences to the heads of group of ten villages). These officers were often consulted by Government in making arrangement for land-transfer and inspection of the execution of the transaction.

There is evidence to show that there prevailed different rates in different parts of Bengal during the period discussed, in the valuation of the price of unsettled and untilled *khila* (fallow) land and *vāstu* (home-stead land). In the province of Puṇḍra-vardhana, we find that such land was sold by Government, in some places at the rate of two *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa* area, and in others three *dīnāras* ; but in East Bengal it was sold at four such coins for the same area. We meet with the name of the coin *rūpaka* (silver coin) in the Baigram copper-plate grant ; and we have clearly shown in our article in the *Epigraphia Indica* that the relative value of this silver coin as compared with the gold *dīnāra* is 1 to 16, i.e. one gold *dīnāra* or *suvarṇa* is equal to 16 *rūpakas*.

After the downfall of the imperial Guptas, Northern India suffered again from social and religious disorder, when the orthodox Brahmanic culture and cults received a set-back, probably due to the spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which now embraced within itself a pantheon of deities almost Brahmanic in form, and to the gradual political darkness prevailing in many parts of the country, on account of fresh oppression by the Hūṇas and other outlandish tribes. During the next two centuries we find the people of North-Eastern India enjoying State aid in the restoration of Vedic rites, and sacrifices, and the worship of several additional Brahmanic gods and goddesses was newly ordained. Hence it is easy to explain why some of the Maukhari rulers, some members of the Śailodbhava dynasty of Orissa and some of the Varman kings of Kāmarūpa are described, in their records, as the upholders of *varṇāśramadharma*. It may be remembered in this connection with what devotion the Nepal kings performed the phallic worship during this period.

All the special economic, social, political and religious features that marked the Gupta period were preserved, with slight modifications, here and there, by the kings and people of the next two centuries in all the North-Eastern provinces. It is indeed curious that, generally speaking, a unity of Hindu culture and civilisation was maintained almost unmodified throughout the period under our notice.

The typical Hindu village community in the North-Eastern part of India is even to-day self-contained, in the sense that we find therein the same village-heads, the same agriculturist householders, the same hired labourers, the religious establishments under the same priests, and a whole host of artisans of various classes, carrying on their age-long functions for the common good. It seems as if a constant cultural and religious unity among the Brahmanic Hindus, which was so palpably evident during the Gupta and post-Gupta period of North-Eastern India, noticed in the above chapters, has been retained intact, though with certain modifications, down to the present day, while we are under the independent Sovereign Indian Union.

INDEX

Modern place-names such as 'Allahabad' or 'Katmandu', names of unimportant localities (except a few such as Airikiṇa-vishaya), mythical names and eras such as 'Harsha era' are omitted in the 'Index'.

Abhayadatta 116
Ābhīras 27, 34
Achyuta 24, 25n
Achyutanandin 25, 32
Ādityasena 134, 141, 143, 149-52, 153, 154, 159, 245, 258, 344, 296, 362, 371, 386
Ādityavardhana 147, 166
Ādityavarman 126, 127
Advani 41
Ahichchhatra 32
Airikiṇa-vishaya 104-05
Ajapura 85
Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta 13-16, 20, 22, 28, 33, 38, 44, 63, 64, 199, 200, 263, 266, 267n, 298
Allan (J) 6, 7, 11, 12, 17n, 34, 38, 46n, 79, 90, 106, 115, 116, 119, 163, 165
Altekar (A.S.) 12n, 39, 41, 61, 72
Amarakosha 26n
Amoghavarsha (I), 41, 218n
Āmrakārdava 50, 51
Aṁśuvarman 224, 306n, 311-16, 318-23, 325, 331, 349, 354, 355, 357, 360, 361, 369, 371, 372-78, 379, 380, 381, 383
Anantadevī 93
Anantaguptā (=Ananta-devī ?) 70
Anantavarman 121, 123, 124-25
Andhras (empire, people etc) 4, 9, 128, 129, 130, 134, 199n, 363
Aṅga 26, 56, 198, 345, 346, 388
Antarvedi 83, 86
Apratigha type of coins of Kumāragupta I, 72-3
Ānūpa 26
Apshad inscription of Āditya-sena 134, 145, 148, 151, 159
Araṇabhīta 212, 214, 218, 219, 220
Aravamuthan 121
Archer type of gold coins of Chandragupta II 55

Arjuna (or Aruṇāśva), minister of Harsha 149, 245, 291, 378
Ārjunāyanas 27, 34
Arthaśāstra, 3, 74n, 75n, 198n, 221, 294n, 401
Āryabhaṭa 395
Āryāvarta (Āryyāvarta) 4, 23, 25
Asaṅga 394
Ashrafpur inscription 237, 253
Asirgadh copper-seal inscription of the Maukharis 125, 135, 138
Aśoka 22, 53n, 83, 196, 298, 396
Aśvamedha type of coins of Samudragupta 58
Avamukta 30
Avanti 3, 26
Avantivarman (Maukhari) 136, 138, 140, 171
Ayaśobhīta (I) 206, 207, 210, 212, 218, 219
Ayaśobhīta (II) 214, 219
Ayaśobhīta (III) 219
Ayodhyā 34, 48, 49, 61, 62, 99, 121, 126, 198, 270

Badganga inscription of Bhūtivarman 264, 268, 270
Baḍvā inscriptions of the Maukharis 122
Bāhīka 17n
Baigram plates of Kumāragupta I 63, 65, 66, 67, 79, 234, 398, 403
Bajpai, K. D. 41n
Balkh 17n
Baladhāraṇa-rātabhaṭṭāraka 249
Balambu (Thankot) inscription of Vasantadeva 308
Balavarman (defeated by Samudragupta) 25, 33, 267n
Balavarman (of Kāmarūpa) 267, 274
Bāṇa (Bāṇabhaṭṭa) 32, 40, 41, 47, 122, 123, 138, 139, 147, 157, 160, 161, 162, 163, 165, 172, 173, 174, 177, 178, 180, 181, 183, 185, 191, 242, 276, 277, 280, 287
Bandhudevī, mother of Jīvadhāraṇa-Rāta 249
Bandhuvarman 31, 59, 60, 91
Banerji, R. D. 39, 96, 163, 167n, 176n, 181, 185, 187n, 189, 197, 199, 200, 209, 212, 215, 216, 254, 280
Banskhera copper-plate of Harshavardhana 147, 172n, 179, 182
Barabar cave inscription of the Maukharis 121, 123
Bardhamānapura 205
Barnett (L. D.) 30, 164, 165

Basarh seals 399, 401, 402
Basham, A. L. 58n
Bayana hoard of Gupta gold coins 79n
Beal (S) 95n, 153n, 205n, 258n, 284n
Belava copper-plate inscription 10, 346n
Bendall 300, 312, 319, 335, 341, 349, 350, 354, 360, 381
Bhadrādhivāsabhavana 336, 337, 380, 384
Bhagavadgītā 75n
Bhagavati Bahal inscription of Narendradeva 334
Bhāmaha 226
Bhandarkar, D. R. (Dr.) 39, 48, 51n, 59n, 239-40, 397n.
Bhandarkar, R. G. 393-94.
Bhaṇḍi 171f, 178, 185
Bhānudatta 204
Bhānugupta 93, 105, 106, 107, 109, 111-12, 113f, 225
Bharadvāja 395
Bharsar hoard of Gupta coins 90
Bhāsa (poet) 221
Bhāskaravarman (alias Kumāra or Kumārarāja), 147, 167, 168, 184, 187, 192, 264, 269, 271, 272, 273-96
Bhaṭāraka 111
Bhattacharyya, Dinesh Chandra 223, 225, 227
Bhattacharyya, Padmanath 264, 268, 269, 272, 282, 294n
Bhattasali, Nalini Kanta (N.K.) 19, 20, 96, 98, 163, 230, 232, 235, 237n, 253, 265
Bhaumagupta 309, 368, 369
Bhavagupta 308, 366
Bhavabhūti 154
Bhavanātha 241
Bhīmavarman 84
Bhīmavarman (a Nepalese prince) 326
Bhīmārjunadeva 326
Bhīmārjunadeva 327, 328, 329, 356, 361, 369, 380f
Bhitari pillar inscription of the time of Skandagupta 72, 74, 75, 78
Bhitari Seal inscriptions 70, 73, 89, 93, 95, 97, 118
Bhogachandra (*vārtta*) 372
Bhogadevī 141, 372, 374
Bhogavarman (Maukhari) 140, 141, 296, 344, 362, 371, 372, 374, 385
Bhogavarman, *dūtaka* 317, 371
Bhojavarman 10
Bhriṅgāreśvara 331, 339

Bhriṅgāreśvara temple inscriptions
  of Vishṇugupta 331
  of Śivadeva II 339
Bhṛigukachchha (=Broach) 56
Bhūmagupta 327, 333, 383
Bhūtivarman, see Mahābhutavarman
Bihar Stone Pillar inscription 78, 84
Bijaygadh inscription 34
Bilsad stone inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I 69
Bloch (T) 7
Bodh-Gaya 189
Bolan Pass (in Quetta) 80n
Brahmagupta 395
Brahmā 348
Brahmadatta 100, 103
Bṛihatsaṁhitā 197, 221
Buddhakīrtti (poet) 347, 348, 388
Budhagupta (= Buddhagupta of the Chinese records) 80, 88n, 89, 91, 93-95, 97, 100-09, 110, 114, 115, 222, 225, 228
Bungmati inscription of Aṁśuvarman 316-17
Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman 209, 210, 213, 214
Bühler (G) 162, 299, 351, 358n, 359
Burn (R) 136

Cambay plates of Govinda IV 41
Chakrapālita 81
Chakravarti, N. P. (Dr) 213n
Chakravikrama type of coins of Chandragupta II 49
Champā 56, 193
Chanda, R. P. (Ramaprasad) 175, 176, 177, 180, 181, 183, 189, 213
Chandra of the Meherauli inscription, 14, 16-20, 221
Chandragupta I 8, 9, 10, 11-21, 23, 24, 37, 38, 43, 89, 222, 265, 358, 364
Chandragupta II (Vikramāditya) 8, 10, 16, 21n, 35, 39, 40, 41 and n, 43-56, 57 and n, 62, 77, 79n, 89, 90, 370n, 400
Chandragupta Mauryya 83
Chandragupta (of the somavaṁśī dynasty) 217
Chandra-Kaṇishka (=Kaṇishka I) 15n
Chandramukhavarman, 270, 275
Chandrapuri-vishaya 268, 294
Chandravarman (of the Allahabad inscription) 15, 16, 19, 25, 31

Chandravarman (of the Sirsunja hill inscription) 15, 16, 18, 222
Chandravarman (of the Varman family of Pokharan) 32
Chandravarman 322, 380
Changu-Narāyaṇa image, pillar, temple etc. 301, 305, 352n, 365
Chasal-tol inscription of Jayadeva II 339-40
Chattopadhyay, K.C. 146n
Chattopadhyaya, S. 5, 88n, 92, 95n, 132n
Chawkitar (Thankot) inscription 309
Chhinnamastikā Devī 321
Choudhary, Radhakrishna 57n
Choudhury, P. C. 273n
Cunningham (A) 17, 87n, 103, 121
Cyasal Tole inscription 335

Dakshiṇāpatha 4, 23, 199
Damana (of Eraṇḍapalla) 25, 200
Dāmodaragupta 135, 138, 145-46, 159
Damodarpur copper-plates of Kumāragupta I and others 63, 65, 67, 68, 69, 77, 79, 81, 82, 85, 93, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 103, 106, 109, 231, 234, 399
Dāmuka, 237
Daṇḍabhukti, 204
Das, S. R. 156n
Das Gupta, Kalyan Kumar 73n, 141
Daśapura (Mandasor) 32, 51-2, 59, 91, 92
Doladri 301
Ḍavāka 27, 33, 60, 222, 263
Deo-Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II 138, 143, 151
Deśavarmagomin 319
Deulbari Sarvvaṇī image inscription 237, 253, 255, 257
Devagupta (Later Gupta) 154
Devagupta (of Mālava) 139, 152, 171, 182, 258
Devakhaḍga 154, 254, 256, 257, 258, 259
Devaparāvata 249
Devarāja, a name of Chandragupta II 50
Devarāshṭra 30, 200
Devavarman (=Devagupta) 154, 258
Devi-Chandraguptam 40
Dhanagupta, *dūtaka* 360
Dhanaidaha copper-plate grant of Kumāragupta 62n, 65, 67, 234

Dhanañjaya (of Kusthalapura) 25

Dhanyavishṇu 104, 105, 110

Dharampur inscription 353

Dhāraṇa gotra 5

Dhruvabhūti 22

Dharmāditya 160, 229n, 230, 232, 233, 234-36

Dharmarāja (alias Mānabhīta) 202, 215, 216, 217, 218

Dharmadeva, 301, 343, 359, 364

Dhruvadeva 290, 291, 321f, 356, 360, 369, 370, 375, 378f

Dhruvasvāminī (=Dhruvadevī) 8, 40, 57

Dhulia copper plate of Śrī-Chandra 227

Dikshit, K.N. 101

Diṅnāga 394

Divekar, H.R. 78

Doobi copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman 167, 268, 270, 272, 274n

Dubreuil (J) 30

Eran inscriptions
  of Samudragupta 35-6, 104-05
  of Toramāṇa 104, 110
  of Bhānugupta 111
  of the time of Budhagupta 102, 104, 106

Eraṇḍapalla 29-30, 200

Fa-hien 52-56

Faridpur plates (of Gopachandra etc) 223, 233, 234, 238, 239, 241, 245

Fleet (J.F.) 10n, 14n, 20, 23, 43n, 50, 65, 70, 78, 85n, 91, 105, 108, 119, 128, 147, 150, 246, 295n, 299, 312, 317, 322, 340, 346, 348f, 354, 386

Gadhwa inscriptions
  of the time of Chandragupta II 48
  of the time of Skandagupta I (three fragmentary inscriptions) 70
  of the time of Skandagupta 87

Gaṇadeva 309, 310, 327, 360, 368-69, 382

Gaṇapatināga 25, 31, 32, 267n

Gaṇapati (-varman), also Gaṇendravarman 267, 274

Gandhāra 160

Gaṇeśa 319

Gaṅgas 205

Gaṅgabhadra, *dūtaka* 212

Gangdhar inscription of the time of Kumāragupta 59

Ganguly, D.C. 183n, 228

Ganjam copper-plate inscription of Mādhavarāja II 169, 170, 187n, 204, 206, 208f, 218

Gauḍa (country, king, people etc) 130, 131, 134, 139, 144, 154, 155, 156f, 224, 232, 259, 262n, 273, 276, 280f, 296, 345, 362, 388

Gauḍavaho 154, 155, 259, 260n, 262

Gaya clay seal inscription 121

Ghaṇṭakarṇakshetra 202

Ghaṭotkacha 5, 7, 8, 9, 21, 364

Ghosh, A. 140n

Girikoṭṭūra 29, 200

Girinagara 3

Gnoli, R. 297n, 299f, 303f, 307f, 321, 323, 324, 326f, 339f, 343n, 354, 359f, 367f, 377, 382f, 387, 388

Gopachandra 160, 229n, 230, 232, 233-34

Gopālasvāmin 236

Goparāja 111, 112

Govi (also Gopi) 232

Govichandra 260, 261n

Govinda III 217, 218

Govinda IV 41

Govindagupta 8, 57n, 77, 400

Gośarman, *āchārya* 71

Goshaladeva, *dūtaka* 216

Gonadevī, mother of Lokanātha 242

Grahavarman 138, 139, 140, 141, 171f, 277

Guḍḍa *vishaya* 210

Guhamitra 304

Gullataṅgagrāma 337

Guṇachandra 40

Gunaighar inscription (also known as Tippera inscription) of Vainyadeva 223, 228, 229, 239, 240

Guṇakāmadeva 360, 369, 370n

Guptīnātana *vishaya* 249

Gurjara 160

Gwalior Stone inscription of Mihirakula 114n

Hall, Fitz-Edward 162

Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman's time 122, 124, 130f, 136, 137, 159

Hargreaves 101

Harigaon inscriptions 307, 311, 314

Harihara 310, 369

Harisheṇa 22, 25, 37, 201, 394

Harivarman (alias Jvālāmukha) 125, 126-27

Harivaṁśa 263
Harjaravarman 295
Harsha (=Śrī Harsha) 295, 296, 345, 362, 388
Harshacharita 32, 40, 47, 122, 123, 138n, 147, 157, 160f, 171n, 172n, 175n, 177f, 182, 226, 268, 271, 274, 275n, 277n, 278n, 280
Harshagupta ('Later Gupta') 127, 143-44
Harshagupta (of the Somavaṁśī dynasty) 217
Harshaguptā 126, 127
Harshavardhana (alias Śilādityarāja) 4, 120, 122, 138, 140, 141, 147f, 157, 159, 161, 163, 164, 168f, 175f, 180, 183f, 190, 195, 205f, 224, 231, 232, 238, 245, 252, 253, 255, 260, 271, 275, 276f, 282, 283f, 291, 294, 351, 358, 369, 372, 378
Harūppesvara 295
Hastin 91, 107, 108, 111f
Hastivarman 25, 201
Hoernle 6, 89n, 90, 106, 232
Hūṇa 49, 65, 76, 78f, 83, 87n, 92, 98, 99, 104, 110, 111f, 126, 132n, 135, 142, 146, 158, 160, 161, 211, 222, 404
Huvishka 73n
Hwui Lun 153, 258

Imperial Guptas, rulers etc 5-120, 145, 158, 162, 166, 233, 269, 391f, 394, 403
Indor Copper-plate grant of Skandagupta 85
Indraji, Bhagwanlal 140n, 298f, 304f, 312, 313, 316, 319, 321f, 329, 336f, 346, 348, 350, 351f, 356, 357, 358n, 359, 361, 362, 368f, 372, 374, 382, 388
Indrapura 86
Īśānavarman 126, 127, 129-36, 144, 145, 158, 159, 166
Īśvaravarman 126, 127, 128-29, 130, 136, 138
I-tsing 6, 7, 153, 258

Jacobi 71
Jājava 235
Jagannath (Professor) 80n
Janārdanavarmā 335, 384
Jātakhaḍga 254, 255
Jātavarman 10
Jaunpur stone inscription of Īśvaravarman 122n, 127
Jayadatta 100, 103, 104
Jayadeva I 298, 355, 357, 359, 362, 363, 382

Jayadeva II 140, 296, 298, 340-47, 355f, 359, 361f, 370, 380, 385f

Jayadevabhaṭṭāraka, *dūtaka* 337, 339

Jayanāga 133, 157, 164, 165, 166

Jayanātha (king) 108, 113

Jayanātha (minister) 249, 250

Jayasvāminī 126

Jayaswal (K.P.) 116, 121n

Jayatuṅgavarsha 243, 244, 246, 251, 252

Jayavarman 31, 52

Jayavarman 304

Jishṇugupta (also Śrī-Jishṇugupta, Mānaguptagomin) 321f, 326f, 355, 360, 361, 369, 378f

Jishṇuvarman (prince) 326

Jīvadatta 236

Jīvadhāraṇarāta 243-46, 249-51

Jīvitagupta I 99, 144, 145

Jīvitagupta II 120, 136, 143, 151, 152, 155, 260

Juṇagadh Rock inscription 74f, 79, 80, 83

Kācha 38-39

Kādambarī 122

Kahaum Stone Pillar inscription of the time of Skandagupta 85

Kailan copper-plate grant of Śrīdhāraṇarāta 244, 248, 251, 252

Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana 311, 314f, 319, 320, 322f, 330, 334, 335, 337f, 356f, 369, 371, 373, 378f, 383, 384, 387

Kajaṅgala 188, 192, 288

Kākanādaboṭa 50, 72

Kākas 27, 34, 35

Kalaikuri copper-plate inscription 63n

Kalawan copper-plate inscription 36n

Kālidāsa 26, 221, 263, 266, 394

Kaliṅga 196-220, 296, 345, 362

Kaliṅganagara 205

Kalyāṇavarman 267, 274

Kāmadeva 330

Kāmandaka Nītisāra 3n, 74

Kāmarūpa 27, 33, 158, 159, 167, 168, 187, 192, 194, 222, 245, 247, 263-96, 298, 345, 346, 362, 378, 388, 401, 404

Kanauj (or Kānyakubja or Kuśasthala) 138f, 155, 171f, 184, 185, 259, 261, 275, 278, 288, 289, 291, 351, 372

Kāñchi 30, 201, 345, 346, 388

Kane (P.V.) 122n

Kapilavastu 56
Ka–pi–li 60
Karamadanda inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta 61n
Kāraskara 5
Karmāntavāsaka 254
Karṇasuvarṇa 133, 156, 157, 160, 162, 164f, 183, 186f, 193, 207, 224, 231, 233, 281, 282, 283, 285, 401
Kartṛipura 27, 34, 263
Kārttikeya, Shaṇmukha 348
Kāśi 198
Kaṭakabhukti-*vishaya* 215
Kauṭilya 74, 182, 198, 221, 294n, 297, 401
Kāvyamīmāṁsā 40
Keilhorn 209
Kendur plates 152
Keśava, father of Lokanātha's mother 242
Kevalpur inscription of the time of Śrī-Dhruvadeva 326-27
Khaḍga dynasty 237, 238, 253-60
Khaḍgis 255
Khaḍgodyama 254, 255
Kharaparikas 27, 34, 35
Khāravela 196, 198
Khidingāhāra-*vishaya* 216
Khoh copper-plate 91, 107, 111
Khopasi inscription 318-19, 353
Khurda plate inscriptions 206f, 214, 218
Kīrtivarman I 132
Kisipidi inscriptions
  of Gaṇadeva 309-10
  of the time of Vasantadeva 307-08
Koṇḍeṇḍā 216
Koṇḍeṇḍā plate of Dharmarāja 215
Koṅgoda 167, 170, 187, 193, 194, 196-220, 285, 288
Koṅgoda-*maṇḍala* 215, 216, 217
Konow, Sten (Dr) 36n, 209
Korāla (or Kaurāla) 29, 200
Kosala 29, 296, 345, 362
Kosala (or Mahākosala, dakshiṇa–Kosala) 199, 205n, 217
Kosam 49
Kota 24
Koṭivarsha 33, 64, 65, 67f, 81, 83, 100, 104, 110, 399, 402
Kramalīla 308, 309, 366, 368
Kṛipura 25
Kṛishṇagiri 208
Kṛishṇagupta 120, 142, 143
Kṛishṇavarman, *dūtaka* 311
Kulavṛiddhi 66, 68
Kumāra 295
Kumāradevī 8, 9, 12

Kumāragupta ('Later Gupta') 134, 135, 145, 159

Kumāragupta I 43, 51, 56-73, 74f, 83, 85, 89f, 94n, 97, 98, 100, 102, 109, 234

Kumāragupta II (of the Sarnath inscription) 80, 88f, 95, 97f, 105, 109, 232

Kumāragupta III 89, 93, 94n, 96f, 119, 232

Kuramāravyabhatta 51

Kushan, Kushāṇa dynasty 3, 4, 12, 36, 48, 199, 363, 397n

Kuśinagara 56, 189

Kusthalapura 30

Kuvera (of Devarāshṭra) 25, 200

Kuveranāgā 10, 52

Lagantole inscriptions of the time of Jishṇugupta 329
of the time of Narendradeva 332-33
of the time of Vishṇugupta 330-31

Lajumpat inscriptions of Manadeva 303
of Naravarman 303

Lakshmīnātha 247

Lalitachanlra 261n

Lalitāditya 261, 296

Lalitapattana 321

Laskar, Gangamohan 253-54

Lāṭa, Lāṭa *vishaya* 59, 91, 160

Later Guptas 134, 140, 141, 142-55, 158, 163, 167, 229, 231, 232, 237, 238, 245, 258, 259, 268, 270f, 276, 371, 386

Lauhitya (=Brahmaputra) 146, 147, 225, 266, 295

Legge 54n

Lévi, S 39, 299, 300, 303, 304, 306f, 312, 314f, 321, 327, 328, 336, 338, 339, 344n, 346n, 348f, 352f, 358f, 362, 368, 372, 373, 375, 379, 380, 385, 386, 388

Lichchhavis, Lichchhavi-kula etc. 8-12, 144, 298, 299, 313, 320, 321, 323, 325f, 333, 342, 343, 354f, 359, 361, 362, 369, 370, 373, 375, 377, 378, 380f, 387

Life 94n

Lokanātha (feudatory) 238, 239, 240

Lokanātha (king) 242, 245, 246, 250, 251, 252

Lokavigraha 201

Lo-to-mo-ti (Raktamrittikā-Rangamati) monastery 194

Mādhava 217
Mādhavagupta 120, 143, 148-49, 159, 232, 275, 276
Mādhavarāja I, 206f, 210
Mādhavarāja II (also Mādhavavarman) 170, 187, 189, 204-05, 207, 210, 218
Mādhavavarman (also Śrīnivāsa) 210, 212f
Mādhavavarman (I, Janāśraya, Vishṇukuṇḍin) 131
Madhuvana (or Madhuban) copper-plate of Harshavardhana 147, 172n, 182
Madhyamarāja (I, alias Ayasobhita ?) 215, 218, 219
Madhyamarāja (III ?, Taillapa) 218
Madrakas 27, 34
Magadha 3, 8, 13, 14, 34, 188, 190, 194, 198, 199, 207, 224, 231, 232, 238, 245, 258, 259, 262, 268, 270, 271, 272, 276, 298, 352, 362, 371, 377
Mahābhārata 197, 221, 263, 287, 367, 394
Mahābhūtavarman (=Bhutivarman) I 264, 268-70, 275
Mahābodhi temple 153, 154
Mahādeva, see Śiva
Mahākāntāra 29, 35, 199
Mahākūṭa pillar inscription 132
Mahanti, Padma Charan 213
Mahārathi 9
Mahāsena 73n
Mahāsenagupta 146, 148, 149, 159, 163, 167, 271, 272, 273n, 275
Mahāsenagupta 147
Mahaśivagupta 137
Mahasthan inscription 396n
Mahāvīra 71
Mahendra (of Kosala) 25, 199
Mahendra (of Pishṭapura) 25, 200
Mahendravarman 267-68, 274
Mahīdeva 327, 343, 359, 366, 382
Maitrakas 83, 111
Majhgawan copper-plate inscription 111
Majumdar, N. G. 123n, 129
Majumdar, R. C. 15, 20, 39n, 42, 76, 96, 154, 164n, 168, 176, 177, 180f, 201n, 246, 253f, 260, 283f
Majumdar, S. N. 17n
Mālava, see Malwa
Mālavas, Mālava king etc. 27, 34, 116, 139, 142, 171f, 185
Maligaon inscription 328-29
Mallapuri 303

Mallasarul grant of Gopachandra 230, 233
Maltar inscription of the time of Dhruvadeva 324
Malwa 31, 32, 49, 51, 52, 55, 57n, 59, 60, 82, 91, 92, 94, 99, 103, 104, 106, 107, 111f, 115, 120, 126, 158, 171, 195, 222, 277
Mānabhīta, see Dharmarāja
Māna royal family, Mānas (Mānavaṁśa) 202f
Mānadeva (I) 301, 302-03, 304f, 327, 343, 350f, 355, 357, 358, 364-66, 367, 370n, 382, 383
Mānadeva (II) 360, 369, 370n
Mānagupta-gomin 328
Mānagṛiha 306, 308, 309f, 318, 323, 328, 330, 357, 366, 368f, 372, 379, 380
Mandasor Stone inscription 15, 91
Mandasor stone inscriptions of Yaśodharman 115, 117f, 278n
Mañjughosha 340, 341
Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (=Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa) 77, 123, 133, 141, 157, 165, 166, 170, 185, 186, 188f, 224, 234, 280
Mankuwar stone image inscription of Kumāragupta I 65, 71
Maṇṭarāja (of Korāla or Kurala) 25, 200
Manusaṁhitā 394
Māṭharas 205
Mathurā 32, 48, 55
Mathura image inscription of the time of Kumāragupta 72
Mathura pillar inscription of the time of Chandragupta II 21n, 44, 47
Maṭila (=Mattila) 25, 31
Mātṛichandrapāṭaka 216
Mātṛivisrṇu 104, 105, 110
Mauhari community 121n
Maukharis, Maukhari king etc. 99, 119, 121-41, 142, 145, 149, 158, 166, 171, 174, 184, 194, 224, 268, 270, 277, 296, 313, 344, 371, 372, 404
Mauryas (Mauryyas) 3, 396n, 397n, 400
Mayūrākshaka 60
Mayūra-śālmal=āgrahāra 268
Medinī 252n
Meghadūta 113n
Meghavarṇa 36
Meharauli iron pillar inscription 14, 19, 20, 221
Midnapore copper-plates of the time of Śaśāṅka 168-69, 204
Mihirakula 98, 112f, 112-15, 117-19

Mirashi 39
Mishra, Sadasiva 213
Misra, Vinayaka 212, 218
Mlechchhas 76, 79, 80, 83
Mookerji, R. K. 129n, 132, 147n, 163, 171
Mṛichchhakaṭika 145
Mudgala family 202, 203
Mukherjee, B. N. 60, 228

Nachne-ki-talai inscription 35
Nāgadatta 25, 31
Nāgadeva 233, 235
Nāganikā 9
Nagarjuni hill cave inscriptions of the Maukharis 121, 123
Nāgasena 24, 25, 32
Nalanda 94, 138, 140
Nalanda monastery 286, 287
Nalanda seal inscription of Bhāskaravarman 270, 273
Nalanda seal inscriptions (of the Guptas) 89, 93, 95, 97, 99, 103, 106, 113
Nalanda seal of Mahendravarman 267-68
Nalanda seal of Vainyagupta 222-23, 224, 228
Nalanda inscription of the time of Yaśovarmmadeva 261
Nandapur copper-plate grant 107
Nandavarman 326
Nandin 25
Naradatta 226
Nārāyaṇabhadra 165
Nārāyaṇavarman 268, 274
Narendrāditya (or Narendravinata) 163, 166
Narendragupta (=Śaśāṅka) 162
Narendradeva 331, 332f, 344, 355f, 361, 370, 381f
Nātha family 241, 252
Nāṭyadrapaṇa 40
Naravarman 15, 16, 31, 32, 51, 52, 60
Naṛasiṁhagupta (also Bālāditya) 89, 93-98, 118, 119, 232, 261, 262
Navyāvakāśikā 233, 235, 236, 237n
Nayasena 233, 236
Nepāla 27, 33, 140, 144, 222, 245, 263, 296, 297-390, 402, 404
Nīlarāja (of Avamukta) 25
Nidhanpur copper-plate grant 147, 187, 264, 267, 268, 269, 271, 273, 274n, 281, 292
Nirgranthas 248
Nṛinmarigrāma 331
Nṛipadeva, *dūtaka* 334, 384

Padmakholi 202

Padmāvatī (=Padam Pawaya) 32
Pahlavas 17n, 394
Paharpur inscriptions
  of the time of Budhagupta 79, 101, 103, 106, 109, 228, 234
  of the time of Kumāragupta I 392
Pālaka 295
Pālakka 25, 30, 201
Pāla kings of Bengal 120, 155, 188, 252, 258
Pallava kings 30, 200
Pañchanagarī 66, 67, 69
Pāṇḍuvaṁśis 205
Panigrahi, K. C. 199n, 201n
Pāṇini 198
Panna Lall 96f
Parab 147f
Pargiter (F.E.) 13, 198n, 233, 234n, 235, 236
Parikuda plates of Madhyamarāja 209, 215
Parṇadatta 81
Pārśva 71
Paśupati temple 304
Paśupati temple inscriptions 305, 308, 329
Pāṭaliputra (also Pushpapura) 3, 7, 8f, 14, 45, 48, 49, 53, 54, 151, 189, 298, 343
Patalāyikā-*vishaya* 249
Pathak, K. B. 71, 101, 111, 113, 114
Patan inscriptions of Narendrava 332-35
Patiakella grant of Śivarāja 202
Pauṇḍra, same as Puṇḍra see Puṇḍravardhana
Pavittraka 236
Petavyālloparāja (Paṭṭavyalopa) 218
Piers E.A. 123n
Pishṭapura 29, 220, 205
Pitṛibhaktas 205
Polamuru plates of the Vishṇukuṇḍins 131
Prabhākara 395
Prabhākaravardhana 138, 139, 147, 148, 158, 160, 166, 171f, 271
Prabhāvatī 9, 52
Prabhāvatī, Khaḍga queen 253, 257
Pradoshaśarman 246, 247
Prāgjyotisha 184, 263, 264, 266
Prakāśāditya 90
Prārjunas 27, 34, 35
Prasādagupta 310, 369
Praśāntadeva, minister 247
Prayāga 13, 145, 289, 290
Pṛithivīsheṇa I 35, 61, 62
Pṛithivīvigraha 201, 202
Pṛithuvīra 230n
Priyajīva, *dūtaka* 383
Puipīno (Pūipīno) 210
Pulindasena 211, 219

Puṇḍravardhana (bhukti, janapada etc) 14, 33, 62f, 67, 69, 77, 80, 81, 84, 93, 100f, 101, 103, 104, 110, 113, 114, 120, 133, 142, 156, 157, 160, 166, 167, 185, 186, 188, 192, 198, 207, 231, 280, 282, 392, 401, 403

Puri plates of Dharmarāja 215, 216

Puri plate of Mādhavavarman 214

Purugupta 70, 75, 76, 77, 84n, 89, 90, 92f, 97f, 109

Pushkaraṇa (=Pokhran in Bankura, West Bengal) 16n, 19, 26

Pushkaraṇa (=Pokaran in Rajasthan) 16, 26, 31, 32, 222

Pushpabhūti 122, 138

Pushpamitras 78

Pushyagupta 82

Pushyamitras 65, 72, 74, 76, 78

Pushyavarman 264-65, 274

Rāḍhā 19, 151, 169

Raghuvaṁśa 26, 263, 266

Rajaguru 216

Rājarāja (=Rājarājabhaṭṭa) 254, 257, 258-59, 260

Rājaśekhara 41

Rājyamatī 296, 345, 362

Rājyaśrī 139, 140, 171, 172, 174, 175, 184, 185, 280

Rājyavardhana (=Rājya) 157, 160, 161, 164, 169, 171, 173f, 207, 277, 285

Rājyavatī 301-02, 303, 359, 364

Rāmachandra 40

Rāmacharitam 10n, 346n

Rāmadeva 309, 360, 366, 368, 369

Rāmagupta 39-42, 47

Rāmapāla 145n

Rāmāyaṇa 3n, 263

Raṇakshobha 218

Rapson (E.J.) 6, 32, 46n, 113, 136

Rāshṭrakūṭa kings 246

Rāta family, Rātas 252

Ratnasaṁgha 304

Raychaudhuri, H.C. 29, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39n, 61, 76, 89n, 95f, 127, 131, 132, 137, 143, 153, 155, 236-37

Regmi, D.R. 297n, 300, 360, 370n

Revajyasvāmin 226

Rhinocheros-slayer type of coins of Kumāragupta 61

Rohitāśvagiri (=Rhotas hill) 167

Rohtasgadh seal-matrix inscription 169-70

Rudradāman (Mahākshatrapa) 82, 83
Rudradatta 225
Rudradeva 25, 31
Rudrasena II (Western Kshatrapa) 35
Rudrasena II (Vākāṭaka) 10, 52
Rudrasena III 46n
Rudrasiṁha III (Western Kshatrapa) 46, 47
Rudraṭa 346n

Sabarasvāmin 395
Śailodbhava 211, 214, 219
Śailodbhava dynasty, Śailodbhavas etc (=Śilodbhavakula) 170, 196-220, 404
Sainyabhīta (I) 206, 208, 210, 212, 218, 219
Sainyabhīta II (=Mādhavavarman=Śrīnivāsa) 214, 218, 219
Sainyabhīta III 219
Sākala (=Sialkot) 17n, 34
Śakas 394
Śaka-Muruṇḍas 27, 36
Sāketa (=Ayodhyā) 13, 401
Śakrāditya 90, 94n, 95
Sāla (or Māla) 214
Śālastambha 295
Samāchāradeva 160, 163, 229n, 230, 232, 236-37
Samataṭa 27, 33, 160, 188, 193, 207, 221-61, 263, 401
Śambhuyaśas 202, 203
Saṁkshobha 107, 111, 112, 113
Samudragupta 9, 11f, 16, 18f, 21-37, 38, 39, 43f, 47f, 58, 63, 79n, 90, 199, 201, 222, 263, 265, 266, 269, 298, 358, 367
Samudravarman (king of Kāmarūpa) 33
Samudravarman 265-67, 274
Sanakānikas 27, 34, 35, 44
Sanchi 49, 72
Sanchi inscriptson of Chandragupta II 49
Sandhyākaranandin 10n, 346n
Sanga inscription of Aṁśuvarman 315
Saṅghamitra, a Buddhist teacher 256
Sangli plates of Govinda IV 41
Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha 41, 217-18n
Śaṅkara 179, 182
Śaṅkaradeva 301, 343, 359 363-64
Śāntideva 225, 227
Śarabhapuriyas 205
Saraswati, S. K. 228
Śārdūlavarman (Maukhari) 121, 123, 124

Sarepha (Sareph-āhāra-vishaya) 202, 203, 204
Saranath inscription of 154 G. E. 88, 89, 93-4, 97, 101, 103, 106, 109
Sarvanātha 113
Sarvvanāga 83, 86
Śarvvavarman 126, 129, 135, 136, 138, 224
Śaśāṅka 133, 156-95, 204, 205, 206, 207, 224, 232, 273, 276, 277, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287
Sastri, Ganapati 77n, 133n, 297n
Sastri, Haraprasad (H.P.) 15, 16, 19, 20, 60
Sastri, Hirananda 123n, 137
Sastri, Krishna 210
Sātakarṇi 9
Saulika (same as Śūlika) 131, 132, 134
Saurāshṭras 81
Sauryadeva, *dūtaka* 335, 384
Sen, B.C. 164n, 176n, 183n
Shāhis 27
Shāhānushāhis 27
Shahpur inscription of Ādityasena 151
Shashṭhī 84n
She-Kia-Fang-Che 94n
Sheng-chi, a Chinese priest 258
Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman 200
Śikharasvāmin 51, 61
Śīlabhadra 286, 287
Siṁhapura 205
Siṁhavarman (of the Mandasore record) 15, 31, 52
Siṁhavarman (of the Susunia record) 15, 19
Sindhu 16, 160
Singhi, Narendra Singh 228
Sinha, B.P. 87n, 95n, 164n
Sircar, D.C. 17n, 44n, 133n, 244n, 252, 265, 268, 273
Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśivagupta 137
Śiva 62, 208, 211, 224, 227, 237, 247, 269, 278, 290
  Chhatra-Chaṇḍeśvara 381
  Maheśvara 393
  Paśupati 347n, 389
  Śiva-deveśvara 385
  Sthāṇu 348
Śivadeva, *dūtaka* 336, 384
Śivadeva I 311f, 316, 317, 324, 336, 349, 354f, 360, 369f, 378
Śivadeva II 313, 337, 338, 340, 341, 344, 347n, 362, 371, 380, 381, 385f
Śivadeva III 357, 363, 387
Śivadeva-vihāra 336
Śivarāja, 202, 203
Si-yu-ki 94n
Skandadeva, *dūtaka* 335, 381
Skandagupta 43, 72, 73-87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 94n, 95, 96, 97, 99, 102, 105f, 111

Skandagupta, officer 178
Skanda-Kumāra 73n
Smith, Vincent. A (V.A.) 5, 7, 10, 12, 14n, 15, 36n, 37, 48, 57, 64, 78, 87n, 89n, 90, 92, 96f, 106, 108, 119, 186, 200, 281, 291n, 298, 391
Somadatta 204
Somavaṁśī 217
Sonepur hoard of coins 46n
Sonpat seal inscription 147
Soro plates
  No. A 202, 203
  No. B 204
  No. C 204
  No. D 203-04
Śrāvastī 56
Śrī-Chandra 227
Śrīdharagupta 329, 331
Śrīdhāraṇa-Rāta 244, 248, 250, 251
Śrigohalī 66
Śrīgupta 5, 6, 153
Śri-Koṇadevī, wife of Āditya-sena 150
Śrīnātha 241
Śrīpur (or Sirpur) 217
Śrī-Suva (or Sucha) 140, 141
Sthāṇudatta 236
Sthāṇvīśvara (Thanesvara) 122, 138, 140, 147, 158, 159, 166, 171, 172, 174f, 178, 184, 185, 271, 275, 277, 278, 286, 291
Sthavira school 248
Sthitavarman 270, 275
Sumandala inscription 201
Sudarśana lake 82-3
Sudhanyāditya 230n
Śūdraka 145
Suhma 19
Sunagara 205
Supratishṭhitavarman 167, 271, 272, 273, 275
Supiya record 84n
Supushpa 11
Śūrasena 141, 372, 374
Śūrasena 26
Surāshṭra 3, 52, 80n, 82, 111, 128, 129, 345, 346, 388
Suraśmichandra 102, 103, 104, 106, 110
Sūryavaṁśī kings 342
Sūryyavarman 130, 136, 137
Sūsthitavarman (=Susthira, alias Śrīmṛigāṅka) 146, 149, 159, 167, 270-71, 272, 275
Susunia hill and inscription found there 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 32
Suvarṇavīthi 237n
Suviśākha 83
Suvvuṅga *vishaya* 247
Svāmidatta (of Girikoṭṭura) 25, 200
Svāmi-Mahāsena 70
Svayambhūdeva 110

Tamparavḍama 202
Tāmralipti (=Tamluk) 56, 188, 193
Taṇḍralvalu (Tuṇḍivaluja) 202
Tāranātha 230n, 260, 261n
Tathāgatagupta 94n, 95, 227-28
Ṭhākurī family 298, 321, 355f, 361, 369, 371, 377, 378, 379, 383
Thankot inscription of Jishṇugupta 327-28
Thankot inscription of Vasantadeva 305, 379, 380
Thoka inscription 372
Thoka inscription of the time of Śivadeva I 316
Thoraṇa *vishaya* 206, 214
Tilabhaṭṭaka 23
Tīrabhukti (=Tirhut) 13, 34, 77, 142, 399, 400
Tivaradeva (= Mahāśivagupta) 217
To-bahal inscription of the time of Mānadeva I 304
Toramāṇa 104, 105, 110, 111, 112, 115
Tosala, (Tosali) 197
  dakshiṇa- Tosala (Tosali) (Southern Tosala) 197, 202, 203
  uttara-Tosala (Tosali) (Northern Tosala) 202, 203, 204
Trikaliṅga 196
Trivṛita 66
Tsapaligaon inscription of Gaṇadeva 310-11
Tulaccho-tol inscription of the time of Śivadeva I 311-12
Tushāspha 83
Tyagal Tole inscription of the time of Gaṇadava 310
Tyāgasiṁha 295

Ubhaya 202
Uchchhakalpa 113
Udayadeva 320, 321, 344, 355, 356, 361, 370, 375, 381, 382, 383
Udayagiri cave inscription 35, 44, 45, 46
Udīrṇakhaḍga 257
Uditāchāryya 48
Uḍra 196-220, 296, 345, 362, 388
Udumbara 165
Ugrasena (of Pālakka) 25, 201
Ujjayinī (Ujjain) 3, 36, 49
Undāna 50
Upaguptā 126
Ūrjayat (=mount Girnar) 82
Utkala 197, 204

Vāhlikas 17
Vaidya, C. V. 351, 377

Vaidyadeva, *dūtaka* 340
Vaidyagrāma 338
Vaidyanatha temple (same as Mandar) inscription of Ādityasena 150, 151
Vainyagupta 93, 94n, 95, 97, 120, 222-28, 229, 233, 234, 240
Vaiśālī (=Besarh) 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 57n, 299, 399, 401, 402
Vaivarttika congregation of monks 225, 227
Vajra 94n, 95, 96
Vajradatta 295
Vajreśvara 335
Vākāṭaka 10, 35, 36, 50, 52
Vākpatirāja 154, 259
Vaṅga, Vaṅgas 16, 18, 19, 144, 151, 198, 221-62, 401
Vappaghoshavata inscription 164
Vārakamaṇḍala 230, 231, 233, 235, 236, 237
Varāhamihira 17n, 123n, 132, 264, 395
Vardhana family, king, princess etc. 122, 138, 139, 158, 168, 179, 184
Varmans, Varman kings of Kāmarūpa 146, 147, 164, 275, 404
Varttani-*vishaya* 216
Varttanoka 202
Varukanā-*vishaya* 204
Varuṇasvāmin (sun-god) 135
Vasantadeva 305, 306, 307, 308, 310, 343, 344, 351, 355, 356, 358, 359, 366-67, 368f, 383
Vaśisthas 205
Vasubandhu 37, 71, 394
Vasurāja 327, 360, 369, 382
Vātabhoga 236
Vaṭagohali-vihara 392
Vatsabhaṭṭi 91, 92, 394
Vatsabhogika 226
Vatsadevī (Jayadeva II's mother) 140, 344, 347, 362, 388, 389
Vatsadevī, mother of Nandavarman 326
Vatsapālasvāmin 233
Vāyigrāma (same as Baigram) 66, 67
Veṅgī 30, 201
Venkayya 210
Vetravarman 63, 64, 68
Vibhuvarman 321, 377
Videha 3, 198
Vidiśā 32
Vigrahapāla III (king of Gauḍa) 10
Vijaya 295
Vijayāditya (Western Chālukya king) 152
Vijayadeva, *dūtaka* 340, 341, 386
Vijayasena 226, 233
Vikramāditya (=Vikramajit in Nepal) 351

Vikramasena, *dūtaka* 315, 317, 349, 360, 373-74
Vinaśana 34
Vinayāditya (Western Chālukya king) 152
Vindusvamin, *dūtaka* 319
Vipravarma-gomin, *dūtaka* 316
Vīradeva's praśasti 262
Vīrasena (also Sāba) 45
Vīraśrī 10
Vīrochanagupta, *dūtaka* 305
Viśākha 73n
Viśākhadatta 40
Vishṇu 17, 18, 20, 44, 49, 74, 83, 264, 303
  Ādi-Nārāyaṇa 305
  Anantanārāyaṇa 247
  Anantasvāmin 87
  Chakrasvāmin 20
  Govindasvāmin 63, 66
  Hari 249, 301
  Kṛishṇa 75, 178
  Mīna—Nārāyaṇa 324
  Nārāyaṇa 334
  Nārāyaṇasvāmin 326
  Vamana 365
Vishṇudāsa Chhagalaga 44
Vishṇugopa (of Kāñchi) 25, 39, 200
Vishṇugupta 89n, 93n, 94n, 95, 97, 119, 142
Vishṇugupta ('Later Gupta') 152, 260
Vishṇugupta (of Nepal) 322, 324, 328, 330, 331, 355, 369-70, 379, 380, 382, 383
Vishṇuvardhana 115, 116, 117
Vishṇupada hill 17
Vishṇupālitabhaṭṭa 51
Vishṇupurāṇa 13, 78, 263
Vishṇusvāmin 374
Viśvadevavarman 371
Viśvavarman 31, 59, 60,
Vṛiji 375
Vṛishadeva, 301, 343, 359, 363, 367
Vyāghrarāja (of Mahākāntāra) 25, 35, 199

Wang-hiuen-ᵗse 291, 377
Watters 95, 191n, 198n, 261n, 299n, 375n
Wima (or Wema) Kadphises 36n, 393

Yag Bahal inscription of Narendradeva 336-37
Yajñavarman, *dūtaka* 254
Yajñavarman (Maukhari) 121, 123, 124
Yaśodharman 99, 115-20, 126, 142, 143, 158, 195, 222, 225, 232, 278n
Yaśovarman 154-55, 259-62, 296
Yaśovarmapura 262

Yaudheyas 27, 34
Yauvanaśrī 10
Yavana 17n
Yuan Chwang (same as Hiuen Tsang, Hiuen Tsiang) 49, 95, 118, 119, 151, 156n, 157, 160, 162, 177, 181, 183, 186f, 194, 196f, 221, 227, 248, 261, 275n, 282f, 286f, 290, 291, 299, 349, 375f
Yudhyamitras 78

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Addenda

P. 21, footnote 18 : In this connection mention may be made of the spurious Nalanda (regnal year 5) and Gaya (regnal year 9) copper plates of Samudragupta. For these records see *E.I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 50-53, Vol. XXVI, pp. 135-36 ; also *Select Inscriptions* (second edition) by D. C. Sircar, pp. 270-74.

P. 57, footnote 3 : Prof. Choudhary has practically reiterated the original suggestion of D. R. Bhandarkar, according to which Govindagupta ruled as a sovereign between G.E. 93 and 95 (96 *sic*) and was later ousted by Kumāragupta (*Indian Culture*, Vol. XI, p. 231). M. B. Garde while editing the Mandsor inscription of the Mālava Saṁvat 524 (= A.D. 467) accepts Bhandarkar's suggestion (*E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 14). R. D. Banerjee (*Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 51) and D. C. Sircar (*S.I.*, second edition, p. 407, f.n. 2), regard Govindagupta as a Viceroy of Malwa. This view appears to be playsible. Later on Bhandarkar changed his view and on the basis of some dubious numismatic sources identified Govindagupta with Kumāragupta (*E.I.*, XIX, App. 7). This identification is baseless and hence untenable (for a criticism of this view, see *I.C.*, Vol, XII, pp. 169 ff, *P.I.H.C.*, Vol. IX, pp. 78 ff).

P. 61, footnote 16 : Another inscription of the time of Kumāragupta and Ghaṭotkachagupta of G.E. 116 found at Tumain may also be noted, see *E.I.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 115-18. Ghaṭotkachagupta of this record is known to have been ruling at Malwa as its imperial Viceroy. The exact nature of his relationship with Kumāragupta is unknown, though some would like to take him as a brother of Kumāragupta. While seals from Vaiśālī bear the name of one Ghaṭotkachagupta (*A.S.R.*, 1903-07, p. 107), there is a solitary Archer type coin in the St. Petersburg (Leningrad Museum ; weight 141.2 grains) which bears the legend *Ghaṭo* under the king's left arm. Hence it may be attributed either to Ghaṭotkachagupta of the Tumain record, or to Ghaṭotkachagupta of the Vaiśalī seals, or to a hitherto unknown later scion of Gupta family of that name ruling towards the end of the fifth century, see *C.G.E.*, pp. 264-66, 354.

P. 84, footnote 18 : The reading *Shashṭhī* in the ll. 14-15 of the Supia record is wrong. It is *yashṭi* (i.e. 'a pillar'). Hence the theory relating to the existence of the cult of Mother Shashṭhī in Central India is untenable. For this record see *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 306-08.

P. 141, l. 12 For K. K. Dasgupta's view see *I.H.Q.*, Vol, XXXVIII, pts 2 and 3, pp. 242-46.

P. 152 : Put *16a* as footnote number to Vishṇugupta and add in the footnote : Two inscriptions of Vishṇugupta—the Mangraon (*E.I.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 241 ff.) and the Kaulesvari hill (*E.I.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 84 ff.) inscriptions throw some light on the history of this king. While the former belongs to the 17th year of his reign, the latter is important since "it is the first 'Later Gupta' epigraph discovered in the Hazaribagh district and the second of Vishṇugupta's records so far brought to light."

PP. 229, 233-34. The recently discovered Jayrampur plate of king Gopachandra shows that the expansion of Gauḍa power towards Orissa began considerably earlier than the days of Śaśāṅka. It contains the name of one Rājānaka Vijayavarman who was Gopachandra's viceroy in the Midnapur-Balasore region and the donor of the grant recorded in the present plate. For this record, see *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 206 ff and *Select Inscriptions* (second edition) pp. 530-31.

P. 265, ll. 3-4 : D. C. Sircar abandons his former reading of the first three signs of the third line as 244. He now reads it as *āyushkāmaṁ* (*S.I.*, second edition, p. 385). To us it appears that the signs probably represent numerical figures, and not syllables.

Corrigenda

P. 12, l. 12 : Delete full stop after 'the date'.

P. 28, l. 6 : Read 'it appears' instead of 'it appear'.

P. 56, l. 11 : Delete comma after 'Tāmralipti'.

P. 58, fn. 7 : Add *G.D.* after *C.C.B.M.*

P. 63, l. 17 and 65, l. 10 : Delete 'new' preceding 'Baigram'.

P. 71, ll. 16-17 : Read 'K. B. Pathak' instead of 'K. P. Pathak'.

P. 72, l. 15 : Read A. D. 454-55 instead of A.D. 445-55.

P. 80, l. 20 : Read *Samagraṁ* instead of *Samagrāṁ*.

P. 121, fn. 1, ll. 3-4 : Put 'Cf' after 'Maukharis'. Delete 'Cf' before 'The Kaveri, the Maukhari' etc.

PP. 123, 125, 127 : Folio headings would be 'The Maukhari dynasty' instead of 'Under Imperial Gupta Emperors'.

P. 164, fn. 2, l. 5 : Substitute 'after' by 'before'.

P. 273, l. 1 : Pp. 287 ff.

PP. 327-330 : Read '39a-39f' instead of '34-39'.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
AHD	Ancient History of the Deccan by G. Joveau-Dubreuil (translation from the French by V. S. Swaminadha Dikshitar), Pondicherry, 1920.
AIG	Age of the Imperial Guptas by R. D. Banerji, Benares, 1933.
ASB	Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
ASR	Archaeological Survey Reports (Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports).
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
Cal. Rev.	Calcutta Review.
CCBMAI	Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India, by J. Allan, London, 1936.
CCBMGD	Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Gupta Dynasty by J. Allan, London, 1914 (sometimes simply mentioned as *Cat.* or *Catalogue*).
CCIM	Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Volume I, by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.
CGE	Coinage of the Gupta Empire by A. S. Altekar, Bombay, 1957.
CGGCBH	Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard by A. S. Altekar, Bombay, 1954.
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Volume III by J. F. Fleet, Calcutta, 1888 (sometimes mentioned without the volume number).
DKA	Dynasties of the Kali Age by F. E. Pargiter, London, 1913,

DKM	Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha by B. P. Sinha, Patna, 1954.
EHI	Early History of India by V. A. Smith, 4th edition, Oxford, 1924.
EHNI	Early History of Northern India by Sudhakar Chattopadhyay, Calcutta, 1958.
EI	Epigraphia Indica, Ootacamund (also mentioned as *Ep. Indica*).
GAMI	Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India by D. C. Sircar, Delhi, 1960.
HBR	History of Bengal, Volume I, edited by R. C. Majumdar, Dacca, 1943.
HC	Ḥarshacharitam by Bāṇa.
HCPA	History and Civilization of the People of Assam by P. C. Chaudhury, Gauhati, 1959.
IA	Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
JA	Journal Asiatique, Paris.
JARS	Journal of the Assam Research Society, Gauhati.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
JASB, NS	Journal of the Aseatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Calcutta.
JASB, Num. Suppl.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Numismatic Supplement, Calcutta.
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
JRAS,NS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Ireland, New Series, London,

Kām. Nīti	Kāmandaka-Nītisāra.
Malaviya Comm. Vol.	Malaviya Commemoration Volume.
MASB	Memoir of the Asitic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (sometimes mentioned as Memoir of the ASB).
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
NC	Numismatic Chronicle, London.
NHIP	New History of the Indian People, Volume VI (Vākataka-Gupta Age), edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, Lahore, 1946.
PAIOC	Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference.
PHAI	Political History of Ancient India by H. C. Raychaudhuri, (5th edition), Calcutta, 1950.
PIHC	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
SHAIB	Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal by B. C. Sen, Calcutta, 1942.
SI	Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization by D. C. Sircar, Ist edition, Calcutta, 1942, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1965.

3715
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